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Mirrors of Indian Culture

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Mirrors of Indian Culture

K. KRISHNA MURTHY

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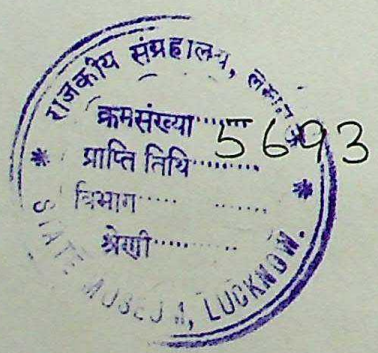

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Preface

Indian culture, so ancient and so renowned has many facets. It is the complex of ideas, conceptions, developed qualities and organised relationships and courtesies that exists generally in the society. Culture is no more and no less than the art of living an enlightened life.

Art, correctly interpreted, is the faithful expression of the social tastes, ideas and character. It has preserved for us the reflections of the spirits and the manners of the people, who created them. The true history of a country therefore, must deal with its physiognomy and the innermost character of its past and present generations. Consequently, any historian is required to answer various questions regarding all aspects which composed the culture.

The present book "*Mirrors of Indian Culture*" embodies alluring chapters throwing lucid light on some of the aspects of the art history. The interesting chapters such as the origin and evolution of *Dohada, Chennavīra Vaikakṣhaka, Pūrṇa-ghaṭa,* multi-coiled ornaments in early Indian art are critically examined. The ancient Indian hair-styles, musical instruments, Furnitures, weapons, domestic vessels, conveyances etc., as revealed in the lithiographic delineations are exemplified in some of the chapters. Besides, salient iconographic features of *Mahāsadāśiva* and a few *Tantric icons* like *Tārā, Maitreya, Jambhala, Jñānaviśhuddha* etc. are also examined. Interestingly, discussion on the philosophical concepts like "*Doctrine of Madhu-bindu*" also finds place in this dissertation. The book is divided into three sections *viz.*, Section I : Material Culture; Section II : Sculptures; and Section III : Art and Architecture.

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The figures incorporated in this work are drawn by my colleagues S/Shri U. Sriramulu, C. Rangappa, M.D. Puranik, K.V. Ramana Rao, P.R.K. Prasad, D.K. Mallick, Sadhu Singh Saar, all of the Archaeological Survey of India. My thanks are due to them. The plates published in this book are by the *Courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.* I specially thank Shri R.Y. Krishna Rao, Stenographer, Archaeological Survey of India, South Eastern Circle, Hyderabad who has taken immense care and interest in bringing out the neat and splendidly typed manuscript. But for his patient and meticulous typing of the manuscript, the present book would not have been in the present form.

Lastly, I am beholden to Swadesh Prasad Singhal, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi for the expeditious and neat execution which he has achieved in a short time.

I should express my thanks to my wife Vijaya who has helped me in comparing the type script of this book.

K. Krishna Murthy

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List of Illustrations

FIGURES

Fig.	I	Coiffures.
Fig.	II	Coiffures.
Fig.	III	Coiffures.
Fig.	IV	Coiffures.
Fig.	V	Coiffures.
Fig.	VI	Coiffures.
Fig.	VII	Coiffures.
Fig.	VIII	Musical Instruments.
Fig.	IX	Musical Instruments.
Fig.	X	Musical Instruments.
Fig.	XI	Musical Instruments.
Fig.	XII	Furniture.
Fig.	XIII	Furniture.
Fig.	XIV	Furniture.
Fig.	XV	Furniture.
Fig.	XVI	Furniture.
Fig.	XVII	Furniture.
Fig.	XVIII	Weapons.
Fig.	XIX	Domestic vessels.
Fig.	XX	Domestic vessels and other household objects.
Fig.	XXI	Conveyances.
Fig.	XXII	Conveyances.
Fig.	XXIII	Mini dresses.
Fig.	XXIV	Dohada.
Fig.	XXV	Multi-coiled Ornaments.
Fig.	XXVI	Channavīra Vaikakṣhaka.
Fig.	XXVII	Channavīra Vaikakṣhaka.

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PLATES

I. Master-piece sculpture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.
II. Madhu Bindu.
III. Great Renunciation and Kantaka's adoration to Buddha-pāda.
IV. Yakṣī, Gandharva, goat and parrot.
V. Nandi.
VI. Mahāsadāśiva.
VII. Chatuṣpāda Mahāsadāśiva.
VIII. Mahāsadāśiva.
IX. Buddha.
X. Maitreya.
XI. Buddha and Padmapāṇi.
XII. Buddha, Maitreya and Padmapāṇi.
XIII. Heruka, Ugratārā and Maitreya.
XIV. Jambhala.
XV. Syāmātārā.
XVI. Syāmātārā.
XVII. Jñānaviśhuddha.
XVIII. Inscribed Buddha-pāda.

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Abbreviations

AA	: Artibus Asiae.
ABORI	: Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Āca	: Ācārāṇga Sūtra.
Anu. Sū	: Anuyogadara Sūya.
Āp.Dh.Su	: Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra.
ARSIE	: Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy.
ASIAR	: Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports.
Āsv.G.S.	: Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra.
AV	: Atharva Veda.
Bau.G.S.	: Baudhyāyana Gṛihya Sūtra.
Bau.Sr.S.	: Baudhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Bhag.	: Bhagavatī.
CBT	: Cunningham Bhilsa Tope.
BDCRI	: Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
Bṛhat.	: Bṛhat Saṁhitā.
Cull.	: Cullavagga.
DN	: Dīgha Nikāya.
Drah.S.S.	: Drāhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Goph.G.S.	: Gobhila Gṛihya Sūtra.
EI	: Epigraphia Indica.
Hir.S.S.	: Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra.
IAR	: Indian Archaeology—A Review.
IHQ	: Indian Historical Quarterly.
JAS	: Journal of Asiatic Society.
JAOS	: Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JISOA	: Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JIOB	: Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

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JOR : Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras.
JRASNS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series.
JUPHS : Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
Kāth.G.S. : Kāṭhaka Gṛihya Sūtra.
Kāt.S.S. : Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Kh.G.S. : Khādira Gṛihya Sūtra.
Kum. : Kumāra Saṁbhava.
M : Mānasāra.
Māl. : Mālavikāgnimitra.
Mān.G.S. : Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra.
Mān.S.S. : Mānava Śrauta Sūtra.
MASI : Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India.
Meg. : Meghadūta.
MER : Madras Epigraphical Reports.
Mh.V. : Mahā Vaṁśa.
Nisi.Cu. : Nisītha Cūrṇi.
NPP : Nāgari Prachāraṇi Patrikā.
OHRJ : Orissa Historical Research Society.
Panch.Br. : Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmṇa.
QJMS : Quarterly Journal of the Mythic society.
Raya.Su. : Rāyāpaseniya Sūya.
Ragh. : Raghuvaṁśa.
Rtu. : Rtusamhāra.
RV : Rig Veda.
Śāk. : Śākuntalaṁ.
Śānk.S.S. : Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Śat.Br. : Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
Taitt.Br. : Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
Taitt.Sam. : Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
Uttara. : Uttarādhyana.
Vaikh.G.S. : Vaikhānasa Gṛihya Sūtra.
Vik. : Vikramorvasiyam.
Vin. : Vinaya.
Vism. : Viśuddhimagga.

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Contents

Preface v
List of Illustrations vii
Abbreviations ix

Section I : *Material Culture*

1. Introduction 1
2. Coiffures 10
3. Musical Instruments 25
4. Furnitures 43
5. Weapons 56
6. Games and amusements of Ikshvākus 68
7. Nose ornament—its origin 74
8. The domestic art 77
9. Conveyances 92
10. Mini-dresses of Ajanta ladies 102

Section II : *Sculpture*

11. Master-piece of sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 107
12. Doctrine of Madhu Bindu 109
13. Rare Amarāvati sculpture 113
14. Dohada concept in sculptural art 118
15. Iconography of Mahāsadāśiva 125
16. Amarāvati Tantric icons 129
17. Jñānaviśhuddha from Amarāvati 139
18. Origin of Chaitya 142
19. Consecration of relics in South Indian Stūpas 146
20. The cult of Buddhapāda 153

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Section III : *Art and Architecture*

21. Pūrṇaghaṭa 159
22. Multi-coiled ornaments 164
23. Chennavīra Vaikakṣhaka 172
24. Buddhist architecture of Sri Lanka and India 178

Bibliography 183
Index 201
Figures
Plates

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1

Introduction

The present tome embodies chapters on different aspects of Indian culture including sculptures and architecture of Ancient India of the preceeding and succeeding years of Christian era. Schematically presented these chapters formulate in retrospect the picturesque panorama of the Indian culture that thrived in the bye-gone ages.

Beautification of hair is innate in human nature and to this, people of the Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku times could not have been an exception. The hair-styles like curly hair, peacock plume mode, *keśapāśa*, *praveṇi*, *śikhaṇḍa*, *jaṭābhāra-śikhaṇḍa* etc., were all known to them. The Amarāvati sculptor had immortalised the *dhammila* hair-style, which was greatly admired during the Sātavāhana period. To a large extent, the contemporary Indian literature corroborates the sculptural depictions of the hair-styles found through the ages. What is interesting is that some of the hair-styles like bun, curly hair appear to be a foreign introduction. The curly hair could have been introduced by Romans during Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku periods. Many of the hair-styles like pony tail, *praveṇi*, bun have their survivals even to this day.

The ancient Indian literature abounds with references to musical instruments. The sculptor of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa transmuted them in stone impeccably. The musical instruments like harp, guitar, conch, *mṛdaṅga*, *mardala*, *muraja*, *paṭah*, cymbal were known to the Ikshvāku period. The *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣhads*, the *Sūtras*, the *epics* like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The Jaina and Buddhist texts, the *Sangam* literature and the like, speak about the musical instruments

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at several places. The Jain literature alone gives 60 musical instruments known to the Jainas. Similarly, the early Tamil literature is full of citations to the musical instruments.

Among the musical instruments, the conch had religious association and interestingly, some of the conches discovered at Salihundam and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were inscribed denoting their religious use. Drums were of different kinds. The Ikshvakus knew *mṛdaṅga, mardala, muraja* etc. The *mardala* which was played by *koṇa* is in midway between sweet noise producing *muraja* and noisy *paṭah*. The auspicious drum *pāṭah kāla nāndi paṭah* was struck in the early morning to notify the break of the day. The drums used for funeral ceremony was called *pretah paṭah*. In many orchestral bands *karatāla kamśyatāla* were an inevitable appendages to the musical accompaniments.

Likewise the lithic representations of the furniture have their literary parallels. The thrones (*siṁhāsana*) honoured seats (*palaṅkāsanas*), long seats and benches (*āsandī* and *mīdhi*), seats and stools, *pīṭhas*, wicker stand, *paṭṭa-kaṇḍolikas*, wheel chairs (*parpā*), foot stools (*pāda-pīthas*) bed steads (*mañchas*) were the furniture articles, known to the Ikshvāku times. The wicker stands have their survivals in the modern *moras*. There is a solitary representation of a wheeled chair (*parpā*) in the whole of Indian art. Pāṇiṇi refers to the wheeled chair called *parpā* used by the disabled persons. Probably, the utility of the chair represented at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may be different from that known to Pāṇiṇi. The bed steads of the Ikshvāku times were varied and interesting.

In the chapter on weapons, an endeavour has been made to enumerate different kinds of weapons of the Ikshvāku period. Corroborating them, the literature gives ample information of the weapons known to ancient Indians through the ages. From such citations, it is possible to get an idea of the prevalence of various weapon forms through the ages, some of which were eventually superseded by more efficient models, while others remained standard features of the Indian military system. The weapons like sword (*asi*), dagger (*churikā*), club (*gaḍā*), spear (*prāsa*), pike (*śūla*), thunder bolt

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(*vajra*), axe (*kuṭhāra*) and bow and arrow (*cāpa* and *śara*) constituted the weapons of the Ikshvākus.

The ancients knew many games like dice play, marble play, the hop-scotch, building castles, of which some are represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures, while others are supplemented by the excavations. The amusements known to them included wrestling matches, cock fighting, snake charming, stick play, bathing etc. Many of these ancient games are surviving in Andhra region in one form or the other.

The Nose ornament—its origin is an interesting topic in which the earlier known origin of the nose ornament is revised in the light of the sculptural, archaeological and literary evidences. The evidence of nose stud in some of the *mithuna* figures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the one noticed on the nose of a female terracotta figure from Chagtur and the reference to the word *Orani* in *Aṇgavijjā* (3rd century A.D.) prove that the nose ornament was known to India as early as in 2nd century A.D. and the depiction of them in profusion was rather late as the 7th century A.D. Perhaps it is because of the non-depiction of the nose ornament in profusion, the figures depicted in the plastic art reveal the paucity of the nose ornament.

The vessels like bowls, saucers, wine-cups, goblets, drinking horns, mugs, *amphorae*, *kūjas*, spouted vessels, vases, pots, incense burners, troughs, caskets and other objects like wine-vats, wine-skin or wine bags, baskets, toilet articles were all known to the Gandhārans. The study of these, reveal the predominance of the foreign impact. In respect of the domestic vessels one can see the presence of the variety of Greek or Greeco-Pārthian vessels. The Greek vessels like *phiale* (saucers), *carchesion* and megarian bowls, *cyathus* (wine-cups), *holmos* (goblets), *rhyton* (drinking horns), *amphorae*, *oinochoi* (flagon), *krater* (wine-vat), *askos* (wine bags) besides Greeco-Parthian wine-cups (*canthroras*), find place in the Gandhāra reliefs. However, it does not mean that indigenous traits are totally absent. We find the native *kūjas*, spouted vessels, mugs etc. Even in the other household objects, one can see the foreign elements like the *kylix*, Iranian baskets, Śaka-Pārthian toilets trays etc., while the indigenous

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traits are perceivable in the articles like fans, mirrors, caskets, razors etc., the leaning is more towards Hellenistic influence in the material culture under study.

The chapter on conveyances is an interesting study of the various means of transportation known to the Gandhārans. They utilized beasts of burden like horses, elephants, camels, rams as their conveyances. The wheeled vehicles like bullock carts, chariots, ram-carts also constituted the conveyances of the Gandhārans. Litter or palanquin was used in procession as found even to this day.

Mini-dresses of Ajanta ladies is a study of the Ajanta murals for visualising the mini dresses known to the Ajanta ladies. In this chapter, an endeavour has also been made to trace the origin of the *saree*. It is interesting to note as early as in Kharoshṭi documents of China-Turkistan, we get reference to *saree*. A word *radi* or Hindi *sadi* occurs in the documents. As for the sculptural representation, we see princess Devagarbha portrayed in the Ghaṭa Jātaka of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures wearing a *saree*. As such this would be the earliest sculptural representation of the *saree* in the Indian sculptural art.

The Section-II, under the caption "*Sculptures*" comprises of 10 chapters covering varied aspects of Indian sculptures.

In the chapter "Master-piece of sculpture from Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, it has been explained that the sculptor was successful in depicting the scene of Chandaka's *nivedana* to Śudhodhana about the conversion of Gautama as mendicant. The scene was pathetic and its portrayal in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture is thought-provoking and realistic. Successfully, the sculptor had transmitted the pathos in stone and brought life into it. What is interesting is the depiction of the horse with its drooping neck and tears trickling down from its eyes. The portrayal is very realistic.

The doctrine of Madhu Bindu is a philosophic doctrine followed by the various Indian schools of thought. The *Upaniṣhads*, the *Kapila*, the *Mimamsakas*, the *Yogini* the *Śaivas*, the *Puraṇas*, the *Bhagavatas*, the Jaina and Buddhist propounded the doctrine to

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establish their truth. Interestingly, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, this philosophic doctrine is portrayed in stone. The sculptor had amazingly succeeded in transfering the doctrine of Madhu Bindu on stone. It is perhaps the solitary representation of the doctrine of Madhu Bindu in stone.

Rare Amarāvati sculptures were the newly discovered sculptures from the temple of Amareśvara during its renovation. The sculptures, stylistically and otherwise belonging to 1st-2nd centuries A.D. reported to have been recovered from walls, ceiling and from the vicinity of the Amareśvara temple. Within the premises, during the foundation digging for *dvaja staṁba*, quite good number of sculptures also reported to have been recovered. Among them, mention can be made of a sculpture revealing Great Renunciation. What is significant in this sculpture is that, the horse *kaṇṭaka* is shown kneeling before the Buddha-pāda which is a rare depiction in early Indian art. Similarly, the sculpture portraying farewell of Gautama to his family, the bridal procession of Yaśhodhara, mutilated stūpa slab, flying *gandharvas*, *yakṣiṇī*, mutilated *nandi* etc., were discovered from the temple at Amarāvati. A brick structure and pottery of the Sātavāhana period were also noticed. There are also, among the collection, considerable number of inscriptions in Telugu characters, presumably pertaining to the Amareśvara temple. Apparently, these sculptures could have been the part and parcel of the Amarāvati Stūpa and its surroundings. The examination of the site reveals the vestiges of a Buddhist site over which the temple of Amareśvara could have been built.

Dohada concept in the sculptural art is a favourite theme. Dohada presumably derived from the word *Durhṛda*—sickness of heart means a pregnancy desire of a woman for particular object. The sculptural representation of this dohada concept is quite alluring and we get at Barhūt, Sañchī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, on the wooden facade from Nepal, in the Vaiṣṇava caves at Bādāmī and from Rameśwaram and Ellora temples. Thus, its representation can be traced at Bhuvaneswar, Konārk etc. In literature too, *Rāyapaseṇaijja*, *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa, *Subhāṣhitāvali*, *Samarāngaṇa*, *Aparājita Prccha* etc., speak about the dohada concept. Evidently, it was a

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favourite theme through the ages for portrature in the early Indian sculptural art.

Mahāsadāśiva is one of the important aspects of Śiva. The philosophic aspect of Mahāsadāśiva is explained in *Vatulasuddhagama*. Besides, the *Mānasāra*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc., explain iconographic traits of Mahāsadāśiva. In this chapter the Mahāsadāśiva found at Peddavegi in Āndhra Pradesh, that which is kept in Archaelogical Museum, Khajuraho and National Museum at New Delhi and the one at Tanjore have all been discussed. It is noteworthy that Mahāsadāśiva of Peddavegi is the earliest so far known sculptural representation. It can be assigned to 8th century A.D. of Eastern Chālukyan period.

The chapter on Amarāvati tantric icons is a study of different kinds of sculptures of tantric Buddhism discovered at Amarāvati. Tantric icons such as *Maitreya*, *Buddha*, *Padmapāṇi*, *Heruka*, *Jambhala*, *Syāmatārā*, *Ugratārā* or *Mahāchīnatārā*, all datable to 9th century A.D. have been discovered during the course of excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1958 and these icons formed the subject matter for discussion. What is interesting is the discovery of Celadon ware of China (9th century A.D.) and seals inscribed with Buddhist creed along with these icons. A shrine of *Jambhala* is among the structures unearthed.

We get description of the different forms of *Heruka* in *Hevajra Sādhana Tantra*, *Abhidhānottara Tantra*, besides those mentioned in *Sādhanamāla* and *Niṣpanna Yogāvali*. The description of the *Heruka* discovered at Amaravati tallies with that of *Jñāna-viśhuddha* form of *Heruka* mentioned in the *Hevajra Sādhana Tantra*.

Origin of *chaitya* is an interesting chapter which trys to establish that the *chaityas* were originally of the Brahmānical incipiance and subsequently they were appropriated by the Buddhists with all their later appendages. Such *chaityas* cannot be counted as exclusively of the Buddhist origin. In fact, the word chaitya is derived from the *chiti* which actually means a funeral pyre. In this chapter, different connotations of the word *chaitya* and its citations in the early Indian literature through the ages have been given.

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Consecration of relics in South Indian stūpas is a study of the different ways of consecration of relic in a Buddhist stūpa with particular reference to South India. The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* gives graphically the rituals of the consecration of the relic in a stūpa. When such a relic is enshrined in a stūpa, it is called *dhātugarbha.* There are three types of stūpas namely *Sārīraka, Pāribhogika, Uddeśika.* Among these, *Sārīraka* contains relic caskets. It is the general belief that relic casket will be embedded in the centre of the stūpa. But, as a result of the excavations at Salihundam and at Amarāvati this notion is revised. The relics can be enshrined on the periphery of the stūpa or in the *āyaka* platform as seen at Salihundam and Amarāvati respectively. For the Buddhists, the vertex object or veneration are three jewels *viz., Triratna.* Apart from these, there are other material objects of worship to which more honour is paid. They are the relics of the holy persons and the monuments erected to their memory by the piety of the ardent Buddhists. The Buddhists through the generations celeberate the relic festival greatly.

The cult of Buddha-pāda is an interesting chapter, where the origin of the Buddha-pāda cult is traced. It is said that the earliest lithic representation of Buddhist foot-print was from Pātaliputra which appears to be as early as that of Aśoka's time (250 B.C.). The sculptural representation of Buddha-pāda in the early Indian art is profuse and occurs at Barhūt, Sañchī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc. Interestingly, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as a result of the excavations, an inscribed Buddha-pāda was discovered from Dharaṇi Vihāra.

The literature, the *Divyāvadhāna,* the *Apadana* speak about the cult of Buddha-pāda. Similarly, Fa Hien and Song yun refer to a tower erected at Sanghashi where there are certain marks and impressions left on the stones by the feet of the different Buddhas. The *Mahāvaṁśa* refers to the foot-prints of Buddha at Adam's peak with great distinctness. Buddha's foot-print bearing marks can be traced in Burma from about 11th century A.D. to the present day. The figures representing the auspicious marks changed their styles from time to time. *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Budhavaṁśa, Mahāpadana Sutta* speak about the number of marks seen on the Buddda-pāda.

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The traditional number is 108 marks on Buddha-pāda can be seen by 5th-6th centuries A.D.

The Section-III, under the heading Art and Architecture comprises four chapters and deals with divergent topics of immense interest.

Pūrṇaghaṭa is an alluring topic which speaks about the occurrance of references to *Pūrṇaghaṭa* in early Indian art and literature. *Pūrṇaghaṭa* otherwise known as *pūrṇa-kalaśa*, *pūrṇa-kumbha*, *maṇgala kalaśa*, *maṇgala ghaṭa*, *bhadra ghaṭa*, has a hoary traditions in Indian literature. The *Vedic*, the *Purāṇic*, the Jaina and the Buddhist literature speak of *pūrṇa-ghata* and its significance at several places. *Kāvyas* of Kālidāsa, *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* etc., also give ample information about the significance of *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*. In Indian art, it is a recurrent motif. The sculptures of Barhūt, Sañchī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa give ample representataions of *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*.

Multi-coiled ornaments is again an interesting chapter which recounts the presence of multi-coiled ornaments in early Indian art through the ages. They are portrayed as ear ornaments, armlets, wristlets, finger rings and leg ornaments. Among these forms, the use of the multi-coiled ornament as *aṅgada* appears to have been very popular. As for the multi-coiled *nūpuras*, they were on wane at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It does not seem to have gained favour outside India. The multi-coiled ornaments *sarpa-kuṇḍalas* noticed at Sāñchī, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in an incipient form could have been the proto-types of the later elaborate *sarpa-kuṇḍalas* mentioned in the Sanskrit literature. The prevalence of this ornament (ear ring) outside India have been long before it had its representation in India, indicates its possible foreign origin and it is likely that this ornament was introduced into India by the Romans at Sāñchī and Amarāvati.

The *Channavīra Vaikakṣhaka* is an interesting topic wherein the origin of *Channavīra* is neatly traced out. The object *Channavīra* is essentially of military origin. *Channavīra* meaning protect warrior retains its literary meaning as it refers to the Vaikakṣhaka of the warrior whose torso it protects. The sculptures of Sāñchī, Barhūt, Amarāvati, Kārli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura represent Channavīra

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more than once. Its continuation can be seen in Gupta-Vākāṭaka, Chālukyan, Pallava with its survivals traceable at Kambodia as late as 13th century A.D. *Channavīra* was known outside India as early as in 14th century B.C. In all probability, it was introduced in India by the Persians in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C.

In the chapter on Buddhist architecture of Sri Lanka and India, an endeavour has been made to bring out the salient features of Buddhist architecture of Ceylon vis-a-vis to that of India. The architectural peculiarities of the Buddhist monuments at Ceylon are quite alluring and reveal very interesting facts. It is generally believed in view of the study of the Buddhist stūpas in India, lower the drum, anterior the date of the stūpa. Perhaps, this does not tally with the stūpas at Ceylon. Another peculiar architectural feature of the stūpas of Ceylon is the presence of Parivāra Buddhas and frontice pieces known as *vahalkade*, which is conspicuously absent in the Buddhist architecture of India. The moon slabs of Ceylon generally contain the carvings of the animals *Hasti* and *Vṛṣhabha*. As opposed to this, we find at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa moon slab containing many animals like boar, deer, elephant, horse, lion etc. In the frescos of Ceylon, while depicting the Māra's assault, invariably three daughters of Māra appear in the scene. But in the case of Indian representation, it is only two daughters of Māra that get their representation. The presence of *Uruṇa* on the fore-head of Buddha is again a rare feature at Ceylon. Interestingly, statues of Buddha in *tribhaṇga* posture are to be seen at Ceylon.

It is well known that Ceylon owes much to India as regards to the infusion of Buddhism into the Ceylonese soil. However, it appears that the magnitude of the assemblage of the Buddhistic monuments at Ceylon and its ratio of borrowal of the art and architecture of India are not tangential.

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2

Coiffures

Literary Evidences

Interestingly, ancient Indian literature recounts copious coiffures[1] prevailed through the ages. As early as to the age of Indus Valley Civilization even, the women were in the know of plaiting the hair with a bow at the end, a favourite way of dressing the hair in modern India.[2] The vedic literature mentions the words like *Opaśa*, *Kaparda*, *Kumba*, *Kurīra*, *Keśa*, *Śikhaṇḍa*, *Śikhā*, *Siman* and *Pulasti*, which connote the coiffures known to its period. Both in the *Rig Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*, the word *Opaśa* is indicated to mean plaits as used by women in dressing their hair.[3] A maiden with four plaited hair gets mention in the *Rig Veda* (X, 114.3). Besides, the words like *Kaparda*, braid, *Kapardin*, wearing braids, *Kurīra* and *Kumba* are also referred to, in the vedic custom of wearing the hair.[4] But these *Opaśa* and *Kaparda* were worn both by men and women and they were not exclusively feminine style as they could be managed by the average long-haired men. The *Opaśa* as worn by men, probably, consisted in gathering up all the hair with a small top knot leaving it loose enough to form a dome-like cover or flounced cap. Thus, the *Opaśa* of Indra and Soma[5] is like the clouded or vaulted sky. It is a thatched net or covered roofing of the house when compared to a woman. The *Kapardin* gods and their followers will reveal the traditional representation of the *Kaparda* of a man.[6] It was a spiral coil of the braided, plaited or matted hair piled on the top of the head at different angles as seen in the case of women. The *Kapardas* of women stood on the other hand for the four corners of the alter and hence did not mean braids or plaits. In all probability, the four *Kapardas* of maiden must

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have together formed crown-shaped coiffure. The coiffures *Kurīra* and *Kumba* were distinctly women styles and as such they were not ascribed to the men in the texts.[7] The *Kurīra* must have been a horn-shaped coiffure, possible with the long braids of women. A net or veil (*Opaśa*) may have been hung from their horn.[8]

The *Kumba*[9] is evidently, *Khompa*[10] of later times, with hemispherical or pot-shaped coil at the back of the head, distinctly of a feminine style. Interestingly, the Atharva Veda and later works refer to another word *Sīman*[11] to mean the parting of a hair. In fact, as the hair was a matter of great care to the vedic Indians, several hymns of the Atharva Veda are directed to secure its ample growth.[12]

The later Saṁhitas and Brāhmaṇas also speak of hairstyles in profusion. The term like *Keśa*[13] and *Śikhā* occur redundantly. In the Taittirīyasaṁhitā and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the *Śikhā* denotes a tuft or a lock—a mode of wearing the hair.[14] In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas[15] the *Śikhā* stands for the knot of the hair worn on the top of the head. Interestingly, in the Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra[16] the wearing of the top knot unloosened signified mourning both in the case of men and women as well. In fact several ways of wearing hair are mentioned in the Vedic Kalpa Sūtras. The Āśvalāyana and the Gobhila Gṛihya Sūtras contend that the hair of the boy should be arranged in accordance with the custom of the family.[17] Apparently, the importance of *Śikhā* had considerable growth in the times of Sūtras. This is evinced in the Kāt. S.S. where it is clearly asserted that on the occasion of performing a sacrifice hair and beard excluding *Śikhā* should be shaved.[18] The Āśvalāyana[19] makes a reference to the usage of keeping two locks of hair by girls on either side.

As for the fashion of arranging the hair of the child the Gṛihya Sūtras lay down divergent rules. The Āśa. G.S. says that the hair of the child may be arranged according to the custom of the family. The Gobh. and the Kh. S. Sūtras on the other hand inform that the locks of the child should be arranged according to *Gotra* and the family usage. The Vaikh. G.S. argues that one, three, five or seven top-knots may be kept according to the Riṣhi ancestors of the family.[20] Similarly,

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Baud. G.S. also lays down that the boy may keep one, three or five *Śikhas* as the custom of the family permits.[21]

The epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata refer to affluent notices of the braids and the neglect of the coiffure as a mark of anguish or violent excitement.[22]

The coiffures known to the Buddhist period are plenteous. The Jātakas teem with the references to the curly hair.[23] Fair tresses on the head, with many a curl parted in the middle and tipped with gold added always to the charm and beauty of the women.[24]

Much can be known about the coiffures of Patañjali's time from his celebrated work Mahābhāsya. The hair was parted in the middle (*Sīmanta*) and the mass of hair was pleated at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls dangling down as low as the waist or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back (*Ke sānam samāhāras cūḍāsya keśa cūḍāh*[25]). The words like *muṇḍā*, *jāti*, *śikhā* get their mention.[26] The cutting of the hair was also known (*keśānvapti*)[27]. Patañjali also refers to ladies with dainty hair or keeping bob-wig (*tanukeśyaḥ striyaḥ*[28]).

Kālidāsa's reference to hair-styles or coiffures in his *Kāvyas* are prolific and present in variety. He refers to a cropped head with a long bunch of hair called "*Śikhā*" on it.[29] The hair-bands that were in vogue are also mentioned.[30] The boys wore *Kākapakṣa*[31] hair in locks. *Śikhaṇḍa* was also another hair-style in an egg-shaped ball usually associated with children. Women kept their long hair always oiled and combed.[32] Their hair was parted and knitted in long tresses (*veṇis*).[33] These tresses were tied in one knot called *cūḍā* or *śikhā* and put it on the crown of head.[34] The poet also speaks of Ekaveṇī—hair knitted in a single long braid.[35] In Ṛtusaṃhāra,[36] a wife in separation has been described as wearing *Ekaveṇī* slinging on her back upto the buttocks. In times of mourning the women refrained from their daily routine of hair dressing as a mark of their distress.[37] In Raghuvaṃśa,[38] *Praveṇī*, a coiffure that hung down almost to the hips with jewelled strip running all along, it is compared to the beautiful dark stream of Jamuna with golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in

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continuous streak suggestive of the plaits of the mother earth arrayed with golden earth. These *Praveṇis* terminated in tassels (*gucchas*) which at times garnished with gold caps studded with pearls and gems (*padatadika*).[39]

The coiffures like *Keśapāśa*, *Dhammilla* and *Jaṭas* were also known to him. Keśapāśa is a kind of hair-style in the form of a loop which may be either close to the head or lower down with loose knot. Kālidāsa compares this to a peacock plume[40] when it is embellished with flower wreaths. *Dhammilla*, an elaborate dress of hair with flowers and jewels gets mention by the poet very often in his kāvyas.[41] In Chola period this coiffure was very popular and finds frequent depiction in South Indian bronzes. *Jaṭā*, the matted locks were worn both by men and women. Later Silpa Texts speak of these two types —Jaṭas and *Dhammillas*—at several places. There is another type of coiffure called *Kabarībandha* with the hair simply rolled up. Flower wreaths invariably adorn it.[42]

Interestingly, most of these hair-styles described by Kālidāsa do find place in the Ajanta paintings. The parting of the hair either in the middle or on the right can be seen in Ajanta paintings in the case of female dwarf and the attendant to the lady at her toilet. The hair on the forehead was either plainly brushed on both the sides or let down in curves in front. The women kept their long hair either in plaits hanging on the back or bound into a knot on the nape of the neck and round it was wound a band.[43] The men too had long hair letting it down on the back as in the case of women.[44] The ascetics wore their hair tied into a knot on the head[45] as portrayed in contemporary literature. Two *Kiratas* portrayed in another place wore a top-knot on their head.[46]

Mānasāra also gives scanty references to the hair styles. The words like *Kalāpaka*[47] meaning a tuft of a braided hair and *Kuntala*[48] have been referred.

Bāṇa of the 7th Cent. A.D. speaks about the coiffures prevailed in his times at several places in his works. In this connection, he refers to one Bhandi, the son of queen Yaśovati's brother who

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possessed side locks of curly hair at the age of eight.[49] It appears that the chiefs, who visited Harṣa had peacock feathers stuck in their top-knots (*cūḍam khaṇḍakha cit*)[50]. The chiefs at Ujjain had top-knots on their heads.[51] The custom of having long hair appears to have been common.[52] Bāṇa's friend Sūdrsti wore a thick bunch of flowers with short top-knot.[53] Hindu ascetics had matted locks.[54]

The fact that the ancient Indians were keen in their hair-styles could be scanned even from the accounts left by the Chinese travellers. Yuan Chwang who was in India in 7th Cent. A.D. speaking about the hair-styles known to him writes, "The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil, while all the rest of the hair hanging down. Some clip their moustaches or have other fantastic fashions"[55].

Amarāvati Coiffures

The Amarāvati sculptures reveal variety of hair-styles known to the Sātavāhana period. Both men and women appear in the reliefs with different kinds of hairdo, exhibiting the skill and care bestowed by them in the metter of hair dressing. The women as usual excelled men so far as the decorating the hair is concerned.

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Curly hair with wig-like appearance*

A male[56] has arranged his hair short and curly which gives an appearance of a wig (*Fig. I, 1, 2*). Sometimes, a bow-knot is arraned over the head (*Fig. I, 3*). Yet in another instance[57] a *Śikhaṇḍ* (an egg shaped ball) is arranged over the head (*Fig. I, 4*). In some cases, these curly hair dangle on to the nape[58] (*Fig. I, 5*). However, curly hair is rather sparse in early Indian art as oppsed to the Gandhāra art. It is a common hair-style among Hellenistic, Greeks and Romans. Evidently, this hair-style could have been the introduction of Greeks in the 4th Cent. B.C. into the Gandhara, while at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, it could have been introduced by Romans during the period of Sātavāhanas and Ikshvākus respectively. However, one finds its extreme popularity in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period as is evident from its innumerable dipictions in Ajanta paintings.

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Curly hair being most beautiful always remained a subject matter for a poet, a sculptor and an artist.[59] In Gāthāsaptaśati,[60] the Hala splendidly describes, how a lady implores her husband just returned after long journey not to forlorn her again since her curly hair stiffened by neglect during the separation has not yet resumed its original curly shape. These curly hair has been immortalised by the sculptors of the Sātavāhana period.

(ii) *Peacock Plume Mode*

A Chāmaradhara[61] offers this fashion of hair-do. He has arranged his curly hair above the head to spread fanwise somewhat like frill (*Fig. I, 6*). This hair-style is charming, resembling a peacock plume. This coiffures is found in the Amarāvati sculptures more with the females than with the males. Hala[62], in his Gāthāsaptaśati makes reference to this alluring bunch of peacock plume. Kālidāsa[63] refers to this hair-style in his *kāvyas* and calls it *barha-bhāra-keśa*

(iii) *A simple hair combed back without parting line*

Some of the males in Amarāvati relief appear with this type of coiffure. They simply combed back their hair without parting line and secured the hair with a fillet (*Fig. I, 7*).

(iv) *Jaṭābhāra-śikhaṇḍa mode combined*

Generally, this type of coiffure is seen with ascetics or sages with their matted locks (*jaṭas* rolled up and secured in an egg-shaped ball) (*śikhaṇḍa*).[64] This coiffure is thus the combined mode of *jaṭbhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa.*

(v) *Clean shaven head*

The Buddhist monks are seen in the reliefs with clean shaven heads. The depiction of the sage with matted lockes or of the monk with a shaven head is uniform and has remained an inevitable appendage in the sculpture.

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FEMALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bun with a knot close to the head*

A female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating "Chakravarti and his retinue" appears with this hair-do.[65] She has combed back her hair and arranged them in a ball shape with a knot close to the nape (*Fig. II, 1*). A fillet or a ribbon is also seen tied over the head in order to secure the hair tightly. In another panel[66] depicting "Aśita nursing the infant Buddha who is on the lap of a female attendant", the female attendant appears with similar hair-style. In this case, she has combed back her hair into a bun and tied it firmly. However, on parting line (*sīmanta*) can be made out (*Fig. III, 2*).

Sometimes, this bun is arranged to a side as seen in the case of a lady depicted in the panel[67] illustrating "Māndhātu jātaka". She had arranged her hair into a bun on the left side (*Fig. II, 3*). However, the parting line can be made out.

This hair-style, combed back hair with or without *sīmanta* and secured in a roundish bun or bunch may be identified as the *keśapāśā* style. In early Indian art, this hair-style occurs frequently. The sculptures of Barhūt Sanchi, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathura and Gandhāra depicted several women with this type of hair-do. However, the adoption of bun as a coiffure appears to be a foreign introduction. At Sanchi, it appears for the first time on the *toraṇas*, in the 1st cent. B.C.[68] The bun which makes it appearance at Gandhāra is evidently of Hellenistic origin. The Greek and Roman ladies showed great aptitude in combing their hair into a bun.[69] This coiffure is common at Amarāvati[70] in the early centuries of the Christian era. It continued to enjoy its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[71] This coiffure is again present at Mathura[72] art and reached the zenith of its popularity in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.[73]

(ii) *Keśapāśa with loose knot*

At times, the hair was combed back and tied into loose knot forming into a loop. A female attendant depicted in the panel[74]

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illustrating "King Ajātasatru and his women visiting Buddha", offers this type of hair-do (*Fig. III, 4*). The *Keśavīthi* in this case is clearly extant. She has adorned her hair with a brousher.

A female worshipper depicted in the panel[75] illustrating "Bodhisattva worship", offers an interesting *keśapāśa* hair-style. She has combed back her hair terminating into loops. Loose knot is tied at the end. Further, the hair is decorated with a frontal jewel suspended probably, by means of chain (*Fig. III, 5*). This can be *jūtikābharaṇa* mentioned by Bāṇa. A parallel example can be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[76] Yet, in another panel[77] depicting the scene of Māyā Devi's dream, this type of hair style is again met with but with slightly in different manner. A female drum player is shown with *keśapāśa* hair-style arranged elaborately. In this case, her hair is combed back into tiaras into a loose knot. She has allowed lock of hair dangling on the back from the nape (*Fig. III, 6*). This hair-do is very charming. Yet another *keśapāśa* hair-style still in different manner can be seen in the case of a female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating "Māndhātu jātaka".[78] In her case the *keśapāśa* does not reveal any tiaras. The hair is arranged in simple manner in a roundish bun but into a loop from the tuft formed at the nape. The end of the lock is tucked over the head. (*Fig. II, 7*).

Thus, the *keśapāśa*[79] is a charming mode of arranging the hair. As seen above, sometimes, it is bound with the loop close to the head[80] and sometimes, it is a loose knot with the loop away from the nape. Generally, the *keśapāśa* is decked with flower wreaths.[81]

In other instances, the hair is simply combed back and rolled up at the occiput as seen in the case of a female attendant (*Fig. III, 8*) depicted in the panel[82] illustrating "Nanda and his beautiful wife". In her case also the hair is adorned with frontal jewel (*jūṭikābharaṇa*).

(iii) *Coiffure comprising hair with or without plaiting and allowed to hang down almost to the hips.*

A Viṇā player depicted in the panel[83] illustrating "Nanda and his beautiful wife", offers an excellent example of *Praveṇī*. Her hair is braided into a long strip and allowed to dangle on the back. The

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braided hair terminates in tassel (*guccha*). It is further ornamented with gold cap presumably studded with gem (*Padataditaka*, p. 39) (*Fig. II, 9*). The modern *jaḍa-gucchas* (*jaṭa-gucchus*) are not different from them. Again, *Prāsādikas* depicted in the panel[84] revealing "night before renunciation", offers similar type of hair-do (*Fig. II, 10*). Sometimes, the coiffure[85] is further embellished with a diamed and flower ornament presumably by gold (*nāgara* type) on the occiput (*Fig. II, 11, 12*; *Fig. III, 13*). Sometimes, the *Praveṇī* hair-style is braided into two plaits leaving no tassals as seen in the case of a female attendent depicted in the panel[86] revealing "Māndhātu jātaka" (*Fig. III, 14*).

This coiffure, with or without plaited hair allowed to dangle on the back with the jewel strips running all along but not above it, represent the *praveṇī* type of hair-do. This coiffure, probably, inspired Kālidāsa to compare it with the beautiful dark stream of river Jamuna dotted with the golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in a continuous streak suggestive of the Mother Earth arranged with the golden strips.

In early Indian art, the *praveṇī* style appears frequently to indicate its popularity. It is quite interesting to see that *praveṇī* is almost absent in Gandhāra art. Again, the occasional depictions of *praveṇī* at Ajanta clearly shows its lesser adoption by the people of the later Vākātaka-Gupta period.

(iv) *Hair (plaited or otherwise) allowed to fall on the back from the rear end of simanta or kesavithi*

This coiffure differs from *praveṇī* in having the hair hung down from the rear end of *sīmanta* instead of from the occiput as seen in the case of *praveṇī*. Except for this difference, this hair style is similar to the *praveṇī* style. Fine example of this coiffure can be seen with lady attendant depicted in the panel[87] revealing "night before renunciation" (*Fig. III, 15*) and with Māyā Devī depicted in the scene illustrating "Māyā Devi's dream.[88]" (*Fig. II, 16*).

This coiffure which is the variant of the *praveṇī* style resembles the pony-tail[89] which is arranged by modern women in many parts of

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India. The parallel examples of this coiffure are available in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the caves of Karle and in the paintings of Ajanta.

(v) *Hair combed back and knotted at the rear and allowing two locks of hair dangling on both the shoulders*

In the panel depicting the "Relic Casket Worship", a female attendent is shown with this type of hair-do. She has arrenged her hair combing it back and knotted it at the rear end. Two locks of hair as shown in the illustration is allowed to dangle on both shoulders (*Fig. III, 17*).

(vi) *Coiffure of the Śikhaṇḍa type*

This hair-style, though generally associated with children, was also adopted by the elders. A fine example of this is met with in a female attendant depicted in the panel[90] illustrating "the child presented to the tutelary Yakṣhas of the Śakyas". She is shown with *śikhaṇḍa* type of hair-style. The ball is decorated with flower wreath. Comparable examples of this hair-do occur at Barhūt, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and Gandhāra art.[91]

(vii) *Dhammilla hair style*

The Amarāvati sculptor has immortalised this fashion of hair-style[92]. This mode of hair dressing was greatly admired during the Sātavāhana period. This hair is said to have excited passion in the lover's heart[93]. The pearl bedecked hair often described by Kālidāsa is of *Dhammilla* form.[94]

To a large extent the contemporary Indian literature corroborates the sculptural depiction of the hair-styles found through the ages. Basing on the information supplied and supplemented by the Indian literature, the hair-styles of Amarāvati have been studied. The variety portrayed in the sculptures at Amarāvati as seen above is unique and throws lucid light on the social history of the Sātavāhana period.

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Coiffures

Hair-styles or coiffures of women delineated in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa accord felicitous study bespeaking highly on the peerless care bestowed on the hair dressing by the people of the day. The variety presented here stands testimony to the adroitness of the unknown hand that wrought the meticulous lithography. The types represented here are dealt with in the following pages.

Basing on the information supplied and supplimented by the Indian literature the hair-styles of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have been studied. The typological analysis of them will be as follows :

A. *Keśapāśa* with knot close to the head, *Fig. IV, 1 and 2.*

B. *Keśapāśa* with loose knot, *Fig. IV, 3.*

C. *Praveṇī, Fig. IV, 4 and 5* and *Fig. V, 6.*

D. *Śikhaṇḍa* and *Jaṭābhāra* mode combind, *Fig. V, 7.*

E. Pony-tail, *Fig. V, 8* and *Fig. VI, 12.*

F. Bun shaped, *Fig. V, 9.*

G. Fan shaped, *Fig. VI, 10.*

H. *Barha-bhāra-keśa, Fig. VI, 11.*

I. *Śikhaṇḍa, Fig. VI, 13;* and *Fig. VII, 14.*

J. Plain hair with *Keśavīthi, Fig. VII, 15.*

Keśapāśa depicted here are abundant. This hair-style in the form of loop having knots either close to the head (*Fig. IV, 1 and 2*) or with loose knots (*Fig. IV, 3*) lower down appear in the sculptures very often. At times, *Keśapāśa* is further enriched with fan like adornment at the frontal side (*Fig. IV, 3*). *Praveṇis* represented are hanging up to buttocks terminating in tassels. In some cases these *Praveṇis* are embellished with gold caps decked with floral designs. In one instance the *Praveṇī* is having loose knot quite lower down (*Fig. V, 6*). The coiffure denoting *Śikhaṇḍa* with *Jaṭābhāra*

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combination (*Fig. V, 7*) is comparable to Amarāvati hair-style (vide *Pl. VII, 15*. Cf. C. Sivaramamurthi's Bulletin Madras Government Museum, Vol. 4—Amarāvati Sculptures). Pony-tail is another type of coiffure that is generally met with (*Fig. V, 8 and Fig. III, 12*). Sometimes, *Keśa* has been gathered together in the fan shape (*Fig. III, 10*). Flower wreaths in bun also at times used (*Fig. V, 9*). In one case hair is fashioned in tiara resembling peacock plume, (*Barha-bhāra keśa*) (*Fig. VI, 11*). Simple and plain plaited hair denoting *Sīmanta* prominantly is also depicted (*Fig. VII, 15*). Thus, in general, the classification of the coiffures includes the loose hair allowed to fall at the back and then the end is looped and knotted, the hair with top-knot and the hair in tassels and then plaited. The fashion of keeping plaited hair by the ladies coiled round the head in a top-knot also discernible. In some cases the hair is beautified with an ornament. The coiffures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have very close similarities to those in Bharhūt, Sanchi and Amarāvati sculptures.[95]

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1. I am very much thankful to Mr. C. Rangappa, Artist, Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, who has prepared the line-drawings of the hair-styles depicted in the sculptures under review, vide Figs. I to VII.
2. Majumdar and Pusalker, *The Vedic Age*, p. 174; London, 1951, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, *Ancient India*, p. 66.
3. *RV*, X, 85.8, of i, 173.6; VII, 14.5; IX, 71.1; *AV*, VI, 138, 1.2; IX, 3, 8, where it is used metaphorically in describing the roof of a house.
4. Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Volumes, I & II. (Benaras, 1958).
5. *RV*, 1, 173.6; VIII, 14.5 & IX, 71.1.
6. Śaiva devotees particularly.
7. Cf. Apost. Sr. Sūt., *Kumba* & *Kurīra* on the Patnis head.
8. As probably in the braids hair-dress, this style is still to be found in the hill tracts between the upper Sutlej and Ganges.
9. The form and sense of the word suggests a connection with *Kumbha, Kambu* etc., all implying something rounded. (Probably, *Kumbya* as a form of measured speech like *Saman* or *Gatha* is taken from some process or feature in the *Kumba* dressing, cf. *Śat Brā.*, XI, 5, 7, 10) (See also S.C. Sarkar, *Some Aspect of the Earliest Social History of India* (London, 1928).

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10. The *Kumba* occurs only in *AV*, and much later on in Sūtras. In all probability, it was primarily an *Angirasa* style; it may be connected with Tamil *Kudum* (coil of hair) and PA to a sort of toffee—both obviously deriving their names from the various elaborate modes of the *Kumba*.
11. *AV*, IX, 8.13; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, V, 7.4; *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 4.1; XV, 5.20; *Śat. Brā.*, VII, 4, 1, 14 cf. *Sīmanta* in *AV*, VI, 134.3; *Taitt. Brā.*, II, 7, 17.3.
12. VI. 136, 137, cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, (Berlin, 1879), (Berlin, 1879), 68; Bloomfield, Hymns of the *Atharva Veda*, 536, 537., Oxford, 1897.
13. *AV*, V. 19.3; VI. 136 etc., *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, XIX, 22; XX, 5; XXV. 3, *Śat. Brā.*, II 5, 2, 48 etc.
14. *Taitt. Sam.*, VII, 3. 16. 2 (in the plural); Catuḥ Śikhaṇḍa, *Taitt. Brāh.*, 1, 2, 1, 27; iii, 7.6; 4 (corresponding to *catuḥ*; *Kaparda*; *RV*, X 114.3). So Śikhaṇḍin means, "wearing a tuft of hair" and is found in *AV*, IV 37, 7; XI, 2, 121, etc.
15. *Śat. Brā.*, 1, 2, 3, 5.
16. *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*, IV, 2.9 Cf. Bloomfield, *American Journal of Philology*, 340, hymn of *Atharva Veda*.
17. यथाकुल थर्म केशवेशान कारयेन्, *Āsv. G.S.*, 1, 17.17; *Gob. G.S.*, 11, 9.23.
18. *Kāt. S.S.*, 11, 1.9.
19. *Āśv. G.S.*, 1, 7, 16-18.
20. *Vaikh. G.S.*, 111, 23.
21. *Baud. G.S.*, 11, 4, 17-18.
22. R.L. Mitra, Vol. 1; p. 210 ff.
23. *JV*, No. 526, p. 105; VI, No. 540, 1.49.
24. *JV*, pp. 156-G 115, 203-G 34 (*dvedha siro sadhubvihattarupo*).
25. 11.2. 24 p. 424. L.1.
26. 1. 1. 2 p. 17, L. 18.
27. VI. 1. 9 p. 14, L. 12.
28. VI. 3.34, p. 152, L. 27.
29. *Ragh*, XVI. 43.
30. *Ibid.*, 11.8.
31. *Kākapakṣa*, *Ibid.*, III 28, XI. 1, 42, XVIII. 43.
32. *Rtu.*, IV. 15; 1, 4, 11, 21. M.P.8.
33. *MU.* 2 Simanthi; *Ragh.*, XIX. 12; *Śāk.*, p. 250.
34. *MU.* 29.
35. *Śāk.*, VII, 21. p. 115; *MU.* 29.
36. IV. 16.
37. *Māl.* Act. V, text pp. 188-41. See Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita*, pp. 242-43.
38. XV. 30.
39. C. Sivaramamurthi, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, 1956, Vol. 4), p. 106.

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
41. *Ragh.*, IX. 44; *Meghadūta*, 1.66.
42. *Veṇisaṁhāra*, Act VI, p. 183.
43. Griffith's, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, (2 Vol. London, 1896-97).
44. *Ibid.*, 72, 73, 74.
45. *Ibid.*, 50, 54.
46. *Ibid.*, 60.
47. *Prakoste valayaṁ chaivamam-bhandha kālapakam*, M.L., 16.
48. *Dukūla-vasanopetāṁ mukutam kunutalamtva*, M. LIV. 78, *Kechit tu kuntala-nibhamtunigam makutam kuntalam tuva*, M.L., 119.
49. *Harṣacharita*, p. 207.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 203, 207.
51. *Kādambari*, p. 174.
52. *Harṣacharita*, p. 243, 242.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 72 text p. 85.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 30 text p. 38.
55. T. Watters Yuan Chwang, *Travels in India*, Vol. 1 (1904), p. 148; Huien Tsiang, *Buddhist records of the Western world* by S. Beal, p. 78.
56. Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, (London, 1954), XXIX, XXXV.
57. *Ibid.*, XXXV.
58. *Ibid.*, XXXV.
59. *Jātaka*, V, No. 526, p. 105; VI, No. 540, p. 49.
60. *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, iii, 73 by Hāla Kāvyamāla Series (Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1889).
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62. *Gātha Saptaśati*, VI, 72.
63. Agrawal, V.S., *Art Evidence in Kalidasa*, *JUPHS*, Vol. XXII, 1949, p. 29.
64. Sivaramamurti, C., *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, (1956), Plate IX, fig. 1.
65. Douglas Barret, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, (London, 1954), Pl. XVII; Also see C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras (1956), Pl. VI.
66. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII, b.
67. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVI.
68. According to Marshall, all the four gates of Sanchi can be ascribed to 50-20 B.C.
69. Seyffert, Oskar, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, (London, 1957), p. 267.
70. Barret, *Op. cit.*, XVII, XXIX; J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupa, Amaravati and*

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Jaggayyapeta, Archaeological Survey of India, (London, 1887), XXXXVI-I; C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in Madras Government Museum*, Madras (1956), VI. 1.

71. K. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā—A Cultural Study*, (Delhi, 1977).
72. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
74. Barret, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV.
75. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXV.
76. Krishna Murthy, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.
77. Barret, *Op. cit.*, Pl. VII.
78. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVI.
79. The terms *keśapāśa, karṇapāśa—pāśa* means both as beautiful and noose or loop. *Keśapāśa* also suggests abundance of hair (*Amara*, ii, 6, 98).
80. Sivaramamurti, *Op. cit.*, Pl. VI.
81. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, fig. 2.
82. Barret, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII.
83. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII.
84. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII. Also see Sivaramamurti, *Op. cit.*, Pl. VI, fig. 4, 6, 7, 8 and 16.
85. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII.
86. *Ibid.*, XXXVI.
87. Barrett, *Op. cit.*, XI.
88. *Ibid.*, VII.
89. Long hair plaited or other wise and secured by means of a fillet or ribbon at the rear end of the *sīmanta* form, the style called the "pony-tail" worn by the present day ladies, especially the unmarried girls.
90. Barrett, *Op. cit.*, VII.
91. Krishna Murthy, *Op. cit.*, p. 124.
92. Sriramamurti, *Op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, fig. 23.
93. *Gāthā Saptaśati*, VI, 44.
94. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IX, 44; *Meghaduta*, i, 66.
95. Baru, *Bharhūt*, Pls. XXX. 23; XXXI, 34; Furgusson, *Tree and Serpent worship*, (London, 1837), Pl. XXX, Fig. 1; XXVII, Fig. 2; XXV, Fig. 1; XXXIV, Fig. 1.22; Sivaramamurthi, *Amaravati Sculptures in Madras Museum*, (1956), Pl. VII.

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3

Musical Instruments

The musical instruments depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa present a pleasing variety, reflecting intensely on the creative genius of the master-musicians of the day. At this place their lithographic delineation is effectually realistic and typologically enriching. The types represented in the sculptures are dealt with, in the foregoing pages, basing mainly on the information available in the ancient Indian literature.

Archaeological Evidence

However, the earliest evidence of the musical instruments we find in the Excavations of Mohenjadaro and Harappa wherein have been unearthed a seven-keyed flute in association with a stringed instrument of the *vīṇā* species and some other percussion instruments[1].

Literary Evidence

Interestingly, the prolific and profuse use of the various kinds of the musical instruments through the ages can be gleaned from the early Indian literature. The Vedic literature[2] copiously speaks of the musical instruments prevailed in its period. In *Rig Veda, Yajurveda* and the *Atharva Veda,* we get references to the musical instruments like *Bākura* (wind instrument), *Nāḍī* (reed flute), *Piṅgā* and *Godhā* (bow string or a kind of musical instrument), *Karkari* (lute), *Dundubhi* (drum), *Āghāṭi* (cymbal) *Vāṇīcī* and *Gargara* (musical instruments) and *Vādana* (Plectrum of a harp). Later the *Saṁhitas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* besides the *Upaniṣhads* also refer to them at several places. They include, *Tūṇava* and *Nādi* (flute), *Viṇā* (lute), *Vāṇī* (lyre), *Khāṇḍavīṇā* (*reed* lute), *Bekurā*

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(a kind of musical instrument), *Dambara*, *Lambara*, *Dundubhi* (drum) and *Bhūmi dundubhi*[3] (earthern drum). The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads* also refer to a number of musical instruments.

The *Sūtras* that followed later are replete with the references to the musical instruments. In the age of *Sūtra* both vocal and instrumental music were very popular. Especially, on the Mahāvrata[4] festival, numerous musical instruments were played. The *Śrauta Sūtras*[5] enlist the words like *Kāṇḍa-Viṇā* (lute made of reed), *Godhāvīṇakas* (lutes covered with *Godhā* skin), *Karkarīkās*, *Viṇā* (lute with hundred strings), *Tambala Vīṇas*, *Talukavīṇas*, *Pinchcholas*, *Pichchoras* (flutes), *Pichcholas*, *Ghātakarkaris*, *Avaghatariksa*, *Apāghāṭalikas*, *Alābu*, *Kapiśirshṇis* and *Āghātis* (cymbals), all connoting the musical instruments. In the *Gṛihya Sūtras* also references to the musical instruments are many. Interestingly, the *Kāṭhaka Gṛihya Sūtra*[6] ordains that bride should play during the pre-wedding rites on the musical instruments like *Nādi* (reed pipe), *Tūṇava* (wooden flute), *Paṇva* (cymbal), *Mṛdaṇga* (drum), whereas the *Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra*[7] prescribes that a harp (*vīṇā*) should be played when brides ostentatiously sprinkled under the yoke of a chariot or a cart. Morever, the same *Sūtra*[8] asserts that four unwidowed women should play on a musical instrument *Nādi*, a pre-weddings rite.

Pāṇiṇi[9] (5th cent. B.C.) mentions the musical instruments that were in vogue in his time. He makes frequent references to the musical instruments like *Vīṇā*[10] (lyer), *Mṛdaṇga*,[11] *Maḍḍuka*, *Jharjhara*[12], and *Turyaṇga*[13]. The players on *Maḍḍuka* and *Jharjhara* are called *Māḍḍukika* and *Jhārjharika* respectively, while *Dārdurika* appears to have been a player on drum made on an earthern jar.[14] According to Pāṇiṇi, a player on an instrument is called *Parivādaka* (III.2.146) whom Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* considers as a lute player (*Bhāshya* VII.4.1; III.345).

Similarly, the great epics *Rāmāyaṇa*[15] and *Mahābhārata* are not wanting in their citations to the musical instruments. The *Rāmāyaṇa* cites the instruments such as *Māḍḍuka*, *Paṭaha*, *Vaṁśa*, *Vipañci*, *Mṛdaṇga*, *Pannava*, *Dindima*, *Ādam-bara* and *Khalasi* at several places. The *Viṇā* was played either with a bow or a plectrum. On the

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battle fields *Paṭahas*, *Dundubhis*, *Aṇkas* (drums) were beaten with *Koṇas* or drum sticks[16]. The *Mahābhārata*[17] is also trugid with references to the musical instruments. The warriors carried the conches with them in the battle fields to sound them before and after battle.[18]

Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya*, lavishly speaks of the musical instruments known to his spell. The instruments like *Mṛdaṇga* (drum) *Saṇkha* (conch), *Tūṇava* (flute), *Vīṇā* with seven strings and *Piṭhara* (a kind of saucer pan by which musical sounds are produced) get their mention at several places.[19] He calls *mṛdaṇga* specialist as *maṛdaṇgika* (*Mṛdaṇga vādanaṁ silpamanya mardaṇgikah*)[20] whom Pāṇiṇi called *maḍḍuka* which is explained in the *Uasika* as *Maḍḍuka vādanaṁ silpamasy maḍḍukah* and tabor player *jharjhara*.

Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* makes scanty references to the musical instruments. Only *Chitra* seven stringed *Vīṇā* played by fingers and *Bipancha Vīṇā* with nine strings and played by the pluctrum are referred to.

Apart from these, Jaina and Buddhist literature also accord ample information about the musical instruments. In Jain literature, they have been classified under four heads, namely, *tata* (stringed instruments) like *Vīṇā*, etc., *Vitata* or *ānaddha* (percussion) such as drums etc., *ghana* (concussion) such as cymbals, etc., and *susira* (wind instrument) like lute. Interestingly, the *Rāyāpaseṇiya*[21] enlists the following sixty musical instruments known to Jains. They include *Saṇkha, Siṇga, Śaṇkhiyā, Kharamuhī, Peyā, Pīripiriyā, Paṇava, Paḍaha, Bhambhā*, (also known as *Ḍhakka*) *Horabhā*, also known (*Mahāḍhakkā*), *Bherī, Jhallarī, Dundubhi, Muraya, Muiṇga, Nandi, Muiṇga, Āliṇga, Kutumba, Gomuhī, Maddala, Viṇā, Vipañcī, Valiakī, Mahatī, Kacchabhī, Cittaviṇā, Baddhīsā, Sughosā, Nandīghoshā, Bhāmarī, Chabbāmarī, Paravāyaṇī, Tūṇā, Tumbaviṇā Āmota, Jhañjhā, Nakula, Mugunda, Huḍukkī, Vicikkī Karaḍā, Ḍiṇḍima, Kiṇiya, Kaḍamba, Daddariyā, Daddaragā, Kalasiyā, Maḍḍaya, Tala, Tāla, Kamśatāla, Ringirisiyā, Lattiyā, Magariyā, Sumsumariyā, Vaṁsa, Veḷu, Vālī, Parillī*, and *Baddhagd*[22]. The pipes (*Vaṁsa*), *Vīṇā* (*Tanti*), clapping (*Tāla*) and the rhythmatic beating of the drum *Tālalaya* following the instrumental music (*Gaha*) invariably accompanied the musi c.

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Indubitably, the people of the *Jātaka* period had keen ear for music[23]. The master musicians (*Gandhabbā*) like Guttila, Musila and Sagga lived in that period[24]. Among the musical instruments (*Turīyāni*) *Viṇā* was most popular[25]. In Jātakas Viṇā formed part of an orchestral band[26]. (*Viṇādini turīyāṇi*). The seven stringed *Viṇā* mentioned in *Nāṭyaśāstra* can be compared with that of the one mentioned in the *Guttila Jātaka*[27]. Regarding *Vādita*, instruments we are supplied with a classified list of musical instruments which is more or less akin to that given in *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātśyāyana*. The musical instruments coming under the *Pañcaṇgika tūriyam*[28] are listed as *Pāṇissara*, *Sammatāla* or the *cymbals*, *Kuṁbhathūṇa* playing on cups filled with water in varying proportions, various kinds of drums, *Bherī*, *Mūtiṇgā*, *Muraja*, *Ālambara*, *Ānakā*, conches etc., *Saṇkhā*, *Panavadeṇḍimā*, *Kharamukhaṁ*, *godhāparivādentikā*, *Kuṭuṁbaiṇḍimāni*[29]. *Veṇu* was the most favoured instrument among the wind instruments.[30] There were beaters of drums and blowers of conches (*bherīvādaka*, *Saṇkhadhamaka*)[31].

Much can be known from the Early Tamil literature about the musical instruments.[32] The *Sangam* literature classifies the musical instruments (*Iśaikkaruvi*) into four heads—*Torakaruvi* made of leather, *Tulaikkaruvi*, provided with holes, *Narambukkaruvi*, stringed instruments and *Midarrukkaruvi*, throat instruments like flute, reed etc. The *Silappadikāram* a classic of second century A.D. gives a variety of drums (leather instruments) which include *Perikai* (a kind of kettle drum), *Padakam* (Tom-tom), *Iḍakkai* (a double headed drum), *Maddalam* (a kind of drum), *Uḍukkai* (a hand drum like the hour glass), *Sallikai* (a kind of large drum), *Karadikai* (a kind of drum), *Timilai* (a kind of drum of fisherman), *Kuḍamula* (an earthern-ware drum), *Takkai* (tabour), *Ganapparai* (a kind of drum), *Tadāri* (a kind of drum), *Tamarukam* (a little drum), *Tannumai* (a kind of drum), *Andari* (a kind of drum), *Mulavu* (a drum), *Chandra valayam* (a kind of drum), *Mondai* (a drum open at an end), *Murasu* (a variety of kettle drum), *Kan-vidu-tumbu* (a kind of drum), *Nisālam* (one headed drum), *Tudumai* (a kind of drum), *Siruparai* (a small drum), Aḍakkam (a kind of drum), *Takuniccham* (a kind of drum), *Viraleru*, *Pākam*,

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Upānakam, *Nāligai* (varieties of drums), *Parai* (the big drum), *Tudu* (a small drum). Apart from these, the other instruments, presumably, made of leather, like *Ākuli*, *Pandil*, *Kodu*, *Neduvankiam*, *Kuruntumbu*, *Tallaip-qarai*, *Padalai*, etc., are also referred to.

Among the wind instruments, flute was very popular and the *Silappadikāram* speaks of five kinds of flutes classified on the basis of their material like bamboo, sandal wood, bronze and Ebony. The words like *van-kiam Kon-raiyankulal*, *Ambalantinikulal* and *Mullaiyan-kulal* all meaning a flute occurs in Tamil literature. Likewise, a good description of *Viṇā* (*Yal*) can be seen in *Porunararr Up-padai* (lines 4-18) and the *Perumpānārrupadai* (lines 4-16). *Adi-yal* or *Perunkalan* (*Vina* with 1000 strings), *Peri-yal* (with 21 strings), *Kakarayal* (with 19 strings), *Sakodayal* (with 14 strings), *Sekottiyal* (with seven strings), were known to the ancient Tamils. Apparently, in the time of *Silappadikāram Viṇā* and flute are highest recognition among the musical instruments.

The Sukranītisāra considers *Vādana* or playing on musical instruments as one of the sixty four *kalas*. It refers to *Gandharva-Veda*, the science of music by which one can know of the various voices *e.g. Udatta Anudatta*, produced by the instruments and the throat together with beats of tune.[33]

The poet Kālidāsa was familiar with all kinds of musical instruments classified into four groups.[34] At several places, in his *Kāvyas*[35], he refers to the musical instruments like *tūryavādya* (clarionet), *Vallaki*, *Aloday*, *Viṇā*, *Veṇu* (flute), *Vaṁśakṛtya* (flute), various kinds of tabors (*mṛdaṇgas*) like *Puṣkara*, *Muraja*, *dundhubhi* (kettle drum), *ghaṇṭā*, *Jalaja* (conch sounded in peace and war) and *ghaṇṭa* (bell). But he seems to have a special liking for lute (*Viṇā*) and tabore (*Muraja*). God Śiva is said to have been awakened from his sleep by the auspicious songs of Kinnaras who produced sweet strains of music from the wires of their *Viṇā* in the harmony with the melodious nodulations of their voice.[36] The *Yakṣha* imagines his wife as wiping tears, off the strings of her *Viṇā* to set them on tune before voicing forth her pangs of separation in pathetic melody.[37] He refers to the

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city Alaka which has been described by him as reverberating with the sound of musical instruments like *Mṛdaṇga* played by ladies.[38]

Sūdraka's play "The little clay cart" (*Mṛichakaṭika*) also throws considerable light on the musical instruments in use. The *Saptatantri Viṇā* is often alluded to in the play. Eleswhere, Cārudatta interestingly, enumerates the use of *Viṇā*.[39] A reference to a flute with seven holes is also made (Venuṁgāyāmi saptacchidram).[40] It is apprised that the sound of the *Mṛdaṇga* when tapped with fingers' tips resembles the rumble of clouds.[41]

Later, *Mānasāra* also makes scanty references to the musical instruments. The words like *Vaṁśa*,[42] *Karuṇa-vīṇā*[43] and *Vīṇā*[44] are referred to.

The accounts of the Chinese travellers also throw some light on the nature of these musical instruments. Yuan Chwang refers to sounding drums and blowing horns, playing on flutes and harps.[45] *Bāṇā* also speaks of the musical contrivances like *Saṇkha* (conch), *Veṇu*[46] (limbel), *Viṇā*[47] (lute), *Jhallarika* (tamborine), *Vādya* (reed), Cymbal (*tāla*), stringdrum, low ground lute (*alodya vādya*), *Kahala*[48] (the horn with brazen sound-boxes). The *Pāṭahkāla nāndi paṭaha* and conches were sounded in the early mornings to announce the day break.[49] In *Kādambarī*,[50] Bāṇā informs how the musical instrument of various kinds were played at the time of the king's bath. This statements of his gets corroborated in the words of Yuan Chwang who says, "When kings goes to his bath then is the music of drums and stringed instruments, worship is performed then, and there are bathing and washing".

Basing on the information supplied and supplemented by the ancient Indian literature, the typological analysis of the musical instruments appear in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[51] have been made.

They are as follows :

(A) Harp shaped *Viṇā*	*Fig. VIII, 1*
(B) Guitar shaped *Viṇā*	*Fig. VIII, 2 & 3*
(C) *Viṇā* species	*Fig. IX, 4*

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(D) Conch	*Fig. IX, 5*
(E) *Ūrdhvaka mṛdaṇga*	*Fig. IX, 6*
(F) *Ālingya mṛdaṇga*	*Fig. X, 7 & 8*
(G) *Mardala*	*Fig X, 9*
(H) *Pataha*	*Fig. XI, 10*
(I) *Cymbal*	*Fig. XI, 11*
(J) *Koṇas*	*Fig. XI, 12*

Viṇā

It comes under *tata* the stringed instrument. There were two types of *Viṇās*, harp and guitar. The harp generated on the tenet of bow and resonator was very popular in ancient times. The entire *Viṇā* was all of wood strings and leather and generally garnished. In Budhacarita, a gold painted and jewel studded harp is spoken off.[52] In Jataka period the harp was the most favoured instrument. It has a hallow belly (*doṇi*) overlayed with a board (*camma pokkhara*).[53] The belly was wider towards the back, where its end was rounded and tapered towards the front, where it distended into a raising curvated arm which terminated in a little scroll. It had seven strings (*Sattatantī*)[54] one above the other and the top-most string was called *Bhamaratantī* (bee-string).[55] All these strings passed through holes (*chiddāni*)[56] in the plane surface (perchment sounding board) of the belly. It was used by both men and women as sole instrument or as accompaniment to the song. It was held under the left arm or in the lap and was played with finger nails (*agganakhehi*).[57] At times the harp was made to dangle by means of a strap from the shoulder and was played while standing.[58]

The harp had great antiquity. In Egypt, it was known as *bjnt* or *bin* akin to the Indian names *bin.*[59] Surprisingly, harps discovered by Sir Leonard Wooley in Ur have close semblences to Grecian lyre and Indian harp.[60] The term lute is originally applied to bow-harp or ten strings which resembles the harp used in ancient Egypt and the Early civilizations of the middle East.[61] By the end of Gupta period[62] in

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India the usage of the harp instrument was already in the wane, and in its place a *Vīṇā* with a pear-shaped body (guitar-type) came into prominence and remained in profuse use till the advent of the Muslims in the 8th century A.D.

The Guitar type, from which the modern *Vīṇā* acquired its shape had a pear-shaped resonator and straight neck. The strings extended across the resonator's flat top which must have been of leather. There were holes in the top cover of the resonator as in the bow-shaped *Vīṇā*. The strings were tuned with the help of the small pegs which were tightened and loosened as required. The instrument possessed usually five strings similar to the one found in the Early Egypt.[63]

The sculptural depictions of both the types are of special interest. At Bharhūt, the harp gets frequent depiction on bas-reliefs.[64] On one of the broken pillars an *Apsarasa* is depicted playing on seven stringed harp.[65] Similar instrument can be discernible in the bas-relief of Indrasala-guha and in the sculpture representing Andhabuta Jātaka.[66] This kind of harp is called *Parivādini* and is usually sounded with a plectrum (*parivāda*) holding it between the fore finger and thumb. Elsewhere, the scene representing the palace of Gods which reveals *Apsarasas*' dancing, contains two harps besides the other musical contrivances.[67] At Amarāvati, both the types—the harp and the guitar are present in the sculptures. The harp is shown being played either with finger tips or nails or with plectrums. The guitar is represented as playing upon with fingers while standing. In one of the sculptures a group of eighteen women are shown playing on musical instruments like drums, conch and two other instruments resembling Assyrian harps.[68]

A sculpture[69] from Gandhāra (preserved in Lahore Museum) depicting a goddess presumably Saraśvati sitting side ways on a lion, holds on her lap a lute of guitar type. At Barabudur, the depiction of the harp like *Vīṇā* is to be seen with its survival at Burma even to this day.[70]

The frescos of Ajanta are not wanting in their representations of *Vīṇā*. A painting, depicting a palace scene wherein dancing girls

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are portrayed reveals an orchestra comprising of five artists. Of them, a woman is shown playing a guitar keeping it on her lap.[71] Another painting representing Boddhisattva Padmapāṇi depicts a Kinnara playing on harp.[72] Interestingly, the plate XXXVII depicts a *Vīṇā* suspended on a wall. It is having six keys for adjusting the six wires and a bridge in the middle of its oval-shaped bowl, so that the wires should not stick to the wooden frame of the instrument.[73]

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a sculpture which represents Indra's visit to Buddha in Indra-sala-guha reveals a harp (*Fig. VIII, 1*). The harper Pañca śikhā is shown playing the harp with finger tips or nails while standing. He is keeping it under the left arm supporting it on his waist. Again, the sculpture depicting the Renunciation scene reveals a woman with a guitar type of *Vīṇā* on her lap (*Fig. VIII, 2*). She is shown playing upon it with her finger tips or nails. Likewise, the sculpture portraying the transportation of Gautama's jewelled turban to heaven reveals among the band of musicians, a man playing on guitar while standing (*Fig. VIII, 3*). He is playing it with his finger tips. The guitar is having five small pegs to regulate the tuning by tightening and loosening them. Elsewhere, a peculiar lute or *Vīṇā* (*Fig. IX, 4*) gets its depiction. A woman is shown playing on it, while standing. She is keeping it slanted to her left shoulder and playing it with fingers. The *Vīṇā* is having a very narrow string board and the strings stretched almost half of the entire length of the lute. It is devoid of any pegs as seen in the case of *Fig. VIII, 3*. Thus, the lute is unique in its representation among the *Vīṇās* depicted in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures. In a way, reveals some semblances to *Sitar* of North India.

Conch (*Saṇkh*)

This comes under *Sushira* (wind instrument) category. The oldest of the wind instrument was probably, the buffalo horn, a specimen of which may be seen in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The conch is also very senile and in fact it is the harbinger of the trumpet. In ancient literature, it is said that the conch was used for both pugnacious and holy purposes. The warriors carried the conches

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along with them in the battle fields.[74] They were so important and propitious that each hero of the bygone ages named their conches.[75] Thus, Pañcajanya of Kṛishṇa and Devadatta of Arjuna acquired their names.[76] Incidentally, Kauṭilya testified to the use of *Saṇkhas* in the war.[77] In temple rituals, it either gives an opening fan-fare or plays a sort of rhythemical accompaniment.

In orchestral band, the conch has its own place. They are blown in two ways. It can be blown either by keeping the perforated tip of the conch into the lip direct or by connecting some ornamental pipe to it. However, the process of blowing the conch was known as *Dhamana* (blowing) or *Pūraṇa* (filling).[78]

The depiction of this instrument in stone is quite interesting. At Barhūt, the conch with pipe often occurs invariably accompanied with *dundubhi*.[79] The shell represented in the monkey and elephant scene in which it is fastened at the end of the pipe is quite remarkable.[80] At Amarāvati, both the varieties with and without pipes are available in lithography.[81] In one of the sculptures, a group of eighteen women have been depicted playing upon the drums, a shell trumpet or *saṇkha* and two other instruments akin to the Assyrian harps.

At Ajanta, the representation of conches in the paintings are superb. In one of the paintings, a palace scene, depicts a woman holding conch in her left hand, while the right one is drawn close to her ear in the pose of audition.[82] The other painting portraying presumably, Māhājanaka Jātaka,[83] reveals a conch-blower in association with flute-player and drummer. The conch-blower is having puffy cheeks protruding eyes suggestive of the act of blowing the conch. Elsewhere, in plate XLIV which depicts a party of musicians beneath the Buddha figure is seen a conch-blower in front of the drummer. In cave XVII, on the left corridor is painted the Viśvantara Jātaka which again reveals musical instruments like *ḍholak* (double drum), conch[84] etc. In same cave, on the ceiling of the hall and the corridor is painted a conch among the religious symbols.[85]

The sculptural depiction of this instrument conch at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is significant. A panel, representing the transportation of

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jewelled turban of Gautama by Devatas, with all pomp and splendour reveals a band of musicians. A conch blower can be seen among them, in action (*Fig. IX, 5*). But the conch is devoid of any metal pipe as evidenced in the sculptures of Amarāvati.[86] Besides, the recent excavation at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa conducted by union department have also yielded conches of which the two recovered from the vicinity of Aṣṭabhuja Swāmi temple[87] bear inscription. The disclosure of the conches from monastic and temple areas at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is highly suggestive of their religious function.[88]

Drums

These fall under *Ānaddha* the instrument of percussion varying in their sound and model they range from sonorous *Paṭaha* to dulcet sounding tabors. The drums used for funeral ceremony were called *pretha paṭaha* fearful in sound. Generally, in the war-field, the drums like *paṭaha, dundubhi, aṇkas*, etc., were struck. It is stated that they were played with *koṇas*.[89] The auspicious drum *pāṭakkālanāndi paṭaha* was struck in the early morning to notify the break of the day.[90] There is another variety of drum known as *Mardala* which is usually suspended by the strap from the shoulder and played with *koṇas*. This is in midway between the sweet noise producing *muraja* and noisy *paṭaha*.

The melodious, sound producing drums, like *muraja mṛdaṇga* and *puskara* are generally used in the musical accompaniment. To this category, also belongs *durduras, panavasand, jarjharikas*. The *mṛdaṇga* has been further classified according to the positions to which they are held. They include *aṇkya ālingya* and *Urdhvaka*.[91] The *aṇkya mṛdaṇga* is placed on the lap while playing. The *ālingya* is larger than *aṇkya* in size but is also placed on lap while playing.

However, the *mṛdaṇga* is considered to be fairly ancient among drum varieties. It is said to have been devised by Brahma to act as an accompaniment to the dance of Śiva in the hour of his triumph over Tripurasura and Ganeśa, the son of Śiva is said to have been the first one to play upon it. The *mṛdaṇga* means '*made of clay*' presumably therefore, its body should have been originally of mud.[92]

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The sculptural depiction of drums are many and accords pleasing variety. At Bharhūt, two types of drums are carved in the sculptures. The smaller drums reprsented in the sculptures are shown beating with fingers while the larger ones are suspended from the necks and struck with sticks. The former variety gets its depiction more than once. It can be seen in both of the *Apsarasa* scenes.[93] At Amarāvati, the sculptural delineation of the drums are redundant and varied. The *paṭaha, mardala,* and *mṛdaṇga* get their portrature frequently. All the types of *mṛdaṇga* namely, *Aṇkya, Āliṇgya* and *Ūrdhvaka* are to be seen in the sculptures of Amarāvati.[94] Interestingly, a relief from Jamalgarhi in Yusufzai which depicts renunciation scene from the life of Buddha reveals, both *aṇkya* and *ālingya mrdangas.*[95]

At Ajanta, its portrature is profuse. A palace scene wherein dancing girls are painted reveals a woman playing exquisitely, on a *mṛdaṇga.*[96] Another painting, depicting Mahājanaka Jātaka reveals again, a drummer in the group of flute-player and conch-blower.[97] Again, plate XXII depicting birth of Buddha in Lumbini grove reveals a drum.[98] The plate XXXVIII represents a band of musicians which includes a fluteplayer and a drummer.[99] Likewise, the plate XLIV depicts a *Mardala* which is shown being suspended from the neck by means of a leather strap.[100] In cave No. XVII, on the left wall of the varandah, above the ceiling door is painted the *Wheel of Samsāra* which depicts a group of musicians. There, a man with *ḍholak* (double drum) slinging by black leather strap from his shoulders is portrayed.[101] In the same fresco can be seen also a *ḍholak* and a pair of tabalas.[102] Likewise, the painting revealing Viśvantara Jātaka depicts again a *ḍholak.*[103] A painting on the base of a pillar of the antechamber portrays the musical instruments like triangular stringed instrument and double drums.[104] In the same cave, immediately, above the battle scene is painted the *Abhiśheka* of Siṁhala which reveals two drummers at the right end of the fresco of whom one is holding a drum while the other a round instrument.[105]

The lithic delineation of drums at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is of special interest. The drums like *ūrdhvaka mṛdaṇga, ālingya mṛdaṇga, Mardala*

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and *Paṭaha* get their depiction significantly. A sculpture representing the scene of the transportation of jewelled turban of Gautama by the devatas reveals a drummer in action. He is playing *ūrdhvaka mṛdaṇga* with fingers and the drums is suspended by means of a leather strap from the left shoulder (*Fig. IX, 6*). The drummer is having his right hand upraised in the act of beating the drum while the left one is kept tangencial to the drum. Another drummer (*Fig. X, 7*) from the same sculpture is discernible wherein he is represented as playing on *ūrdhvaka mṛdaṇga*. But in this case, the *mṛdaṇga* is tied to the waist by means of leather strap unlike the aforesaid *mṛdaṇga* where it is suspended from the shoulder (*Fig. IX, 6*). Besides, in this case, the drummer is playing with *koṇas*. He is depicted in action showing both of his hands raised in the pose of beating the *ūrdhvaka mṛdaṇga*. The sculpture representing night before renunciation reveals again *ālingya mṛdaṇga* (*Fig. X, 8*). Here, a woman is shown with *ālingya mṛdaṇga*.

Another variety of drum, *mardala* also gets portrature in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The sculpture depicting the transportation of Gautama's jewelled turban depicts a band of musicians which includes a drummer playing on *mardala* (*Fig. X, 9*). He is having the *mardala* dangling from his shoulder by means of a leather strap and playing it with sticks (*koṇa*). His right hand is holding a *koṇa* while the left one is kept akimbo. Again, the same sculpture represents a drummer playing on Paṭaha (*Fig. XI, 10*). He is in the act of beating the *Paṭaha* with *koṇas*. Thus, the delineation of drums in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures is picturesque and realistic.

Cymbals

They come under *Ghana*. They are plain and generally made of brass, copper and bronze. The sculptural representation of them are numerous. Both the *Apsarasa* scenes in Bharhūt sculptures reveal cymbals.[106] Interestingly, the relief from Jamalgarhi in Yusufzai, depicting renunciation scene reveals a group of girls playing on the musical instruments. There a harp, a flute, drums and cymbals are shown.[107]

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In Ajanta paintings also, many cymbals can be seen. In one of the paintings that reveals a palace scene is shown a musician holding the cymbals.[108] Another painting, revealing Mahājanaka Jātaka depicts the orchestra comprising of five artists. Of them two are shown playing cymbals.[109] In plates VII a-b are represented two *kinnaras* playing on flute and cymbals.[110] Likewise plate XLIVa also reveals a cymbal.[111] In cave XVII the painting portraying the wheel of Samsāra depicts a party of musicians playing on cymbal.[112] Again, the painting depicting Siṁhala Avadāna reveals the cymbals.[113]

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures also are not wanting in their representation of the cymbals. They are simple and are presumably made of metal. The sculpture, depicting the transportation of Gautama's turban to heaven reveals fine example of cymbals (*Fig. XI, 11*).

Koṇas

They are used for beating the drum or for playing on *Viṇās*. At times, in music parties, the people will play with *Koṇas* by striking them one against the other, individually or in groups.[114] The depiction of a man playing with koṇa individually, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the band of musicians, in one of the sculptures revealing transportation of Gautama's turban to heaven is quite interesting (*Fig. XI, 12*).

Thus, the delineation of the musical contrivances in stone at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is alluring and throw lucent light on the social history of the locality.

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10. III. 3, 65.
11. IV. 4, 85.
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13. II. 2, 2.
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19. II, 2, 34, p. 435, L. II.
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22. The *Bṛh. Bhā.* Pi., (p. 12), *Bṛh. Bhā.* Pi., 24; *Bhag.*, 54; *JIVA*, 3, 3, p. 145 a; *Jambu*, 2, p. 100 f; *Anu. Su.* 127; *Nistcū.*, 17, p. 1158; *Ācā*, 11, 391, *The Sūya* 4. 2. 7; *Sorngadevas Sangīta Ratnākara*, Chap. 6.
23. *J*, V.P. 290; *J*, 1, p. 362-G-80.
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34. ततं वाणदिकं वाद्यं आनंद्धमुरजादिकम् ।
वंणादिकंतु सुषिरम् कास्यतालदिकं घनम् ।।
35. *Raghuvaṁśa*, III. 19; IV. 9, 56; VI. 9; VII. 63, 64; VII. 41; VII. 33; VIII. 41, ii, 12; VIII. 35; X. 76; XIII. 40; XVI. 13; XVI. 87; XIX. 14, 55, 11, 12. *M.* P. 45, V, 23; VI. 56; *Rtu*, 1. 8. 1. 3., *Māl.*, P. 21; 1. 21, *M.U.*, 3; *Ku.*, VI. 40, 1, 23; *Vik.*, iv. 12.

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36. *Kumāra Saṁbhava*, canto IX, verse 85.
37. *Meghadūta*, verse 91.
38. *Raghuvaṁsa*, Act, I and II.
39. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act, III, p. 69.
40. *Ibid.*, Act, V, p. 118.
41. *Ibid.*, Act, IV, p. 102.
42. P.K. Acharya, *Mānasārā an Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, (Allahabad, 1944-46), Vol. VII, p. 451.
43. *M*, LVIII, 21-22.
44. *M*, XLIII, 163 etc. It means a flute, a lute.
45. Yuan Chwang....., 1, p. 152, of Huien Tsiang, 1. p. 218.
46. Bana, *Harṣacaritra*, p. 110 text 128.
47. Harsa, *Priyadarśika*, Act, III, p. 57.
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49. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
50. Bāṇa, *Kadambari*, p. 3.
51. Vide illustrations.
52. *Buddhacarita*, V, 48.
53. Cf. *J.* VI, p. 580, G. 2389 *Vadante ekapokkharā.*
54. *J*, p. 253.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
56. *J*, p. 507.
57 *J*, IV, p. 470.
58. *J*, II. pp. 248 ff.
59. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati sulptures*, (1956), p. 146.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
61. See Pl. XXXVII b; A.L. Bhasham, *The wonder that was India*, (London, 1953), p. 384.
62. During the Gupta period Samudra Gupta was represented on some of the gold coins as playing the seven stringed harp. See also *Journal of Asiatic Society*, IV, 637 and p. 2, XXXIX; fig. 26.
63. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati sculptures*, (1956), p. 145.
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72. *Ibid.*, p. 29, pls. XXIV-XXVII.

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74. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 63; *Mahābhārata*, VI, I, 5-18; IV, 66, 33; VI, 3-39; Also vide *Indian culture*, Vol. 4, 453 and *JAOS*. 33.
75. *SBE*. 8. 38.
76. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 3, 38.
77. P. 403.
78. *Kādaṁbarī*, p. 33.
79. Cunningham, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIII, figs. 323.
80. A. Cunningham, *Stupa Bharhūt*, (Varanasi, 1962), p. 126.
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82. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, 1, (Oxford, 1930), p. 35.
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85. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 307, Pl. XXXIV.
86. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, 1956, pl. XIII, fig. 5.
87. Two inscribed conches one bearing '*bhagavato aṭha bhuja sāmisa*' and the other *dachchiṇa kaṇasara*' come from *Aṣṭabhuja swāmy temple*; vide (*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, for the year 1958-59, Pl. VI-A).
88. The excavation of Salihundam, A Buddhist site in the Srikakulam district also yielded conches in monastic site of which some are inscribed too—See *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, for the year 1953-54, p. 11, 12, Pl. XVII-A.
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96. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, I. (Oxford, 1930), p. 17, Pl. XII-XIII.
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114. Similar plays can be seen even to this day before temple car festivals or in bhajan mandirs in Āndhra Pradesh. The plays is known as *Kolātaṁ*, locally. So also in Mysore region this play is known as *Kolāta Kolu* means stick and *Āta* means play in Kanarese language.

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4

Furniture

The furniture[1] depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is typologically copious. At this place, the furniture befitting the royalty in its richness and embellishment and the plainer and the simpler variety for the use of the commoners as well, is impeccably portrayed in the lithography, at its excellence. The types represented are dealt with in the following pages.

Literary Evidence

Interestingly, the prolific usage of the various kinds of furniture can be gleaned, thorough the ages, from the Indian literature.[2] The Vedic India speaks of the household furniture used by the people of that period. The *Saṁhitas* and later *Brāhmaṇas* besides the *Upaniṣhads* make mention of the furniture at several places. The words like *Āsandī*, *Paryaṇka*, *Proṣṭha*, *Talpa*, *Śayana*, *Vahya*, *Kasu*, *Sadas* do occur in Vedic literature[3] and later works, all meaning, the house-hold materials.

Pāṇiṇi[4] (5th Cent. B.C.) refers to the furniture articles like *Śayya* (bed), *Khaṭvā* (cot), *Paryaṇka* (couch), *Viṣṭara* (cane-chair), *Parpā* (wheeled-chair) etc.

Again the Buddhist literature[5] accords references to the furniture articles and infact enumerates the variety of seats known to the Buddhist period. The furniture such as *Asandaka*, *Sattango* (arm-chair-sofa), *Bhadda Pītham* (State-chair), *Pīṭhikā* (cushion chair), *Kochham* (cane-bottomed chair), Leaning board (*Phalakaṁ*), *Siṁhāsana*, *Pallaṇkāsana*, *Mañca*, *Pāda Pīṭhas* etc., are mentioned in the Vinaya Texts redundantly.

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The poet Kālidāsa[6] of the Gupta period, in his renowned *kāvyas, Raghuvaṁśa, Kumāra Saṁbhava* etc., indicates the usage of the furniture articles at several places. Different kinds of seats like high seats or honoured seats, benches and bed steads have been described by him. Beautiful seats prepared of ivory and covered with white cloth were known to him. He makes mention of cane seats like *Vetrāsana* and honoured seats like *Viṣṭara*. According to him, the above mentioned furniture was invariably furnished with white cover.

Again, in the *Amarakośa*,[7] we get scanty references to the furniture articles. The later work *Mānasāra*[8] (5th-6th Cent. A.D.) recounts the articles of furniture and their prolific use in Chapter XLIV. The words like *Siṁhāsana, Mañca, Mancali, Pallaṇkāsana* etc., are referred to mean the furniture materials. Interestingly, of the *Āgamas, Suprabhedagama*[9] deals with the furniture articles *Āsana* (chair, seat), *Paryaṇka* (bed stead, a couch) and *Siṁhāsana.*

Basing on the information available in the Indian literature, the furniture represented in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa has been studied. Accordingly, the typewise classification of the same is as follows :

1. Lion thrones (*Siṁhāsana*) (*Fig. XII, 1 & 2*)
2. Honoured seats (*Pallaṇkāsana*) (*Fig. XIII, 3 & 4*)
3. Long seat and Bench (*Āsandi* and *Mīdhi*) (*Fig. XIV, 6*)
4. Seats and Stools (*Pīṭhas*) (*Fig. XV, 7, 9, 10 & Fig. XVI, 11*)
5. Wicker stands (*Paṭṭakaṇḍolika*) (*Fig. XVI, 12*)
6. Wheeled chairs (*Parpā*) (*Fig. XVI, 13*)
7. Foot-rests or foot-stools (*Pāda Pīthas*) (*Fig. XVII, 14 & 15*)
8. Bed steads (*Mañcas*) (*Fig. XVII, 16*)

1. *Lion thrones* (*Siṁhāsanas*) (*Fig. XII, 1 and 2*)

Generally, the lion throne or *Siṁhāsana* is made for the use of the deities and kings. The Pāli text refers to a *Siṁhāsana* made out of

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udumbera wood. Kālidāsa the celebrated poet speaks of a king's throne[10] and a golden foot-stool besides the other paraphernalia. In the *Raghuvaṁśa, Siṁhāsana* made of gold and decked with gems has been referred to by the poet. T.A. Gopinath Rao explains it as "four legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one hasta or cubit in height. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions"[11]. *Mānasāra*[12] mentions a throne marked with a lion. The chapter XLV deals in details with ten kinds[13] of thrones *viz., Siṁhāsana, Padmāsana, Padmakesara, Padma-bhadra, Śri-bhadra, Śri-Visola, Bhadrāsana, Padma-Bhaṇḍaka, Śri-Mukha, Vijaya* etc. Besides, there is another throne known as *Vijrāsana* (Diamond throne). It was the throne under the Bodhi-tree at Gaya on which Buddha and his predecessors sat when attaining perfect wisdom.[14] A word Bodhi-maṇḍa is referred to which also means *Vajrāsana* or Diamond throne on which Buddha and his predecessors sat while attaining *Bodhi* or wisdom.[15]

The sculptural representation of the *Siṁhāsana* at Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa is unique and affords an interesting study. The *āsanas* are having lions either as their legs or arm rests. Both the sculptures depicting life scenes of Buddha and the *Jātaka* stories as well represent *Siṁahāsanas*. The sculpture No. 98[16] showing Mārās' Vijaya reveals Buddha sitting over a *Siṁhāsana*. In sculpture No. 99, Buddha is depicted as seated over a *Siṁhāsana* and preaching his first sermon to his five deciples. The *āsana* has lions as legs and side arms. The sculpture No. 100 depicts the Buddha seated on a *Siṁhāsana* and preaching *Dharma*. In this case also lions are used as legs and arms of the *āsana*. In sculpture 101, Buddha is shown seated over a *Siṁhāsana* and preaching to the *Pañchavargīyas*. Apart from this, the sculptures No. 45 and 224 also reveal the typical *Siṁhāsanas*.

(2) *Rich chairs or Honoured chairs* (*Pallaṇkāsnas*) (*Fig. XIII, 3 & 4*)

Chairs are referred to profusely in the *Vinayapitakas*.[17] Four kinds of chairs[18] are mentioned namely a long one (*masaraka*) one with slats (*bhundikabadda*), one with curved legs (*kulirapādaka*) and one with removable legs (*āhaccapādaka*). Besides, we get references to rectangular chair,[19] plated chair[20] (*badda pīṭha*), cloth chair[21]

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(*Pīṭhikā*), sheep footed chair[22] (*Elakapādako*), straw chair[23] (*āmalaka vantika pīṭha*) and wooden chair[24] (*Phalaka Pīṭha*).

The word *Pallaṇka* which means a rich chair occurs in Pāli texts[25] and is synonymous with the Sanskrit *Paryaṇka* or *Paryaṇkikā*. In *Kauṣhitaki Upaniṣhad*[26] the word is mentioned as seat of Brāhmin. It corresponds to *āsandī*[27] as used in the *Upaniṣhads* to mean a throne.[28] Generally, *Siṁhāsanas* are supported by lions but in the case of *Pallaṇkas* they will have legs resembling to that of an animal. But ordinarily they will have bulbous legs. The *āmalaka vantika pīṭham* mentioned in the Pāli texts is the chair with the legs of this type.[29] The projected ends of the back of the seat are carved with *makara* heads. Often the ends of the arm-rests are similarly decorate with projecting *makara* heads. At times curved (*Vaṇka*) animal legs (*Kulirapādaka*) are used for this kind of *āsana*. The *Pallaṇkas* without backs are also common. If there are no arms to the *āsana* it is known as *addha Pallaṇka*.

Interestingly, the poet Kālidāsa[30] refers to a word *Viṣṭara* which means an honoured seat worthy of a royal house. The sculptural depiction of Pallaṇkas at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is remarkable. Quite good number of sculptures represent seat of this type. *Pallaṇkas* with their backs projecting *makara* heads and arm rests decorated with *makara* head do occur at several places. The sculpture No. 28, which depicts Dharmachakraparivarthana scene reveals Buddha sitting over *Pallaṇkāsana* with projecting *makara* head at its back and at the armrests. In sculpture No. 46, which depicts the marriage scene of Siddhārtha where he is exhibiting his valour by doing feats with the bow reveals a *Pallaṇkasa* with *āmalaka* shaped legs, on which Siddārtha is seated. Another sculpture No. 91, which depicts Bodhistva in Tuṣhita heaven reveals a *Pallaṇkāsana* with projecting *makara* head at the back and at the arm rest. The sculpture No. 105 depicting Buddha receiving alms from king Ajātasatru shows Buddha sitting over a *Pallaṇkāsana* with projecting *makara* head at the back and with *āmalaka* shaped legs. In sculpture No. 41, the Naga king Apalāla is revealed as seated over a *Pallaṇkasa*. The sculpture No. 36 an inscribed frieze slab depicting life scenes of Buddha and other

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sculptures No. 41 and 210 also give *Pallaṇkasa* of this type. The *Pallaṇkasa* without arms known as *adda Pallaṇkasa* also occur in the sculptures at several places. Readily the sculpture No. 95 depicting the Mahābhiniskramaṇa scene shows Siddhārtha sitting over a *adda-Pallaṇka* which has amalaka shaped legs.

Apart from these, the sculptures depicting Jataka stories also represent both *Pallaṇkas* with *makara* ornamentation and *adda-Pallaṇkas*. Interestingly, the sculpture No. 40 which depicts Śibi Jātaka represents king Śibi sitting in front of a *Pallaṇkāsana*. Another sculpture depicting Daśaratha Jātaka reveals the seat of this type. Another sculpture No. 42 depicting the scene of Nandas conversion reveals Buddha seated over a *Pallaṇkasa* with projecting *makara* head at the back and arm-rest. Besides the sculpture No. 41, which portrays Śibi Jātaka reveals an *adda-Pallaṇka* with projecting *makara* head, ends, on which the king Śibi is shown seated, having a dove in his hands. In Champeya Jātaka, the king of Benaras is shown seated over an *addha Pallaṇka*. Digīṭhikośala Jātaka in sculpture No. 90 reveals a seat of this type.

Interestingly, the sculpture No. 136 which depicts last night before renunciation reveals a *Pallaṇkāsana* with curved legs (*Vaṇka-pādako*). Another sculpture No. 46 depicts two *Pallaṇkāsanas* with animal legs (*Kulirapādako*). Such wise the representation of *Pallaṇkasa* in the sculpture is noteworthy.

(3) *Long seat and Bench* (*Āsandī* and *Mīdhi*) (*Fig. XIV, 6*)

Āsandī-settee is an old vedic word.[31] Pāṇini uses the word to mean a throne.[32] In Buddhist literature,[33] it is referred profusely to mean a long seat. Dīghanikāya takes it as a long seat that can take more than one person. The commentary on Theragāthā defines *Āsandī* as a long legged four cornered chair upon which it is possible to sit but not to lie.[34] Sitting on this high seats *Āsandī* the group of monks incurred a *dukkata* offence[35]. The monks were forbidden either to sit or lie on *Āsandī*, *Pallaṇka* and *Tūlikā*.[36] This *Āsandī* seat is said to have been refrained from use by Gautama.[37] But the monks were allowed to use *āsandī* if the legs were either cut down or broken[38] (*bhiṇditva*).

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This *Āsandī* type of furniture is represented profusely in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. A stūpa slab (No. 166) depicts two *Āsandī* types of seats which have accommedated three and two persons in each. The *Āsandī* type of seats are more represented in the Jātaka tales than the sculptures depicting the life scenes of Buddha. The lintel slab (No. 49) depicting the Champeya Jātaka reveals an *āsandī* where the king of Benaras and the Nāga king Chempeya are shown sitting over it. In Māndhātu Jātaka (No. 88) the king Māndhātu and the Sakka are shown seated over an *āsandī*. The sculpture (No. 104 and 106) that depict Apalāladama story show Apalāla with his queen sitting over an *āsandī*. Another sculpture (No. 107) where Vajrapāṇi is depicted subduing Nāgarāja of Uruvela Asharama depicts a seat of this kind. The sculptures 33 and 34 also represent *āsandī* type of seat with *āmalaka vaṇtika pāda*. The sculpture No. 217 depicting night before renunciation gives an *āsandī* type of seat. Majority of these *Āsandī* type of seats represented in the sculpture bear *āmalaka* shaped legs. At Amarāvati the sculptures depicting Champeya Jātaka and Māndhātu Jātaka reveal similar type of seats. Besides this word *Āsandī*, we get another word *Mīdhi* which means a bench (solid). It referred in *Cullavagga*, V.94 and VI.2.4. The commentary on *Vijaya*[39] explains it as *Pīṭha-Phalaka*. In *Rigveda*[40] a word *proṣṭha* to mean a bench has been mentioned.

(4) *Seats & Stools* (*Fig. XV, 7, 9, 10 and Fig. XVI, 11*)

Piṭha which means a stool, or seat is mentioned in the *Saṁhitas*[41] and later *Brāhmaṇas*.[42] *Piṭha* is probably the corrupt form from pisad to sit upon hence means a stool or seat.[43] The *Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the word *sadas*[44], *sadana*[45] which means seats. *Sadas* is perhaps raised for *Sadaśya*. Buddhist literature speaks of the word *Elaka-Pādaka Pīṭha*, a chair raised over a pedestal. Cullavagga VI. 4 make mention of stools made out of Khus-Khus, *muñja* grass and reeds. These seats which are either rectangular or circular without legs can be called *Mañca* seats. The rectangular ones will have at times, backs added (*Fig. XV, 8*). They are made of cane (*Vetta*) or bamboo (*Veḷu*) and are known as *Vidala mañcaca* which Buddhagosha explains as *Vettamañcam*. They are *Vetrāsanas* simple and light and made of

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cane weed. They were primarily intended for holy persons such as sage or Brāhman. The *Mahāvagga*[46] refers to the word *Kochcha* mean a cane bottomed chair.

The sculptural representation of this furniture at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is plenty. Both the sculptures depicting the life scence of Buddha and Jātaka stories reveal this type of seats. The sculptures bearing Nos. 13, 44, 47 and 226 reveal *Mañca* seats. The inscribed frieze slab (No. 36) depicting life scene of Buddha reveals a *Vidala Mañcacam*. The sculpture No. 39 depicting Champeya Jātaka shows queen Sumana sitting over, a circular seat and the queen of Benaras king sitting over a rectangular one. In Daśaratha Jātaka (No. 90) a *Mañca* seat is depicted. In sculpture No. 245 depicting Vessentara Jātaka, *Mañca* seats are represented. In the sculpture No. 42 which narrates Nanda's conversion, Nanda is shown seated over a *Mañca*. Again, in the sculpture 106 where story of Apalāla is depicted we get a circular seat.

(5) *Wicker Stands* (*Paṭṭā Kaṇḍolika*) (*Fig. XVI, 12*)

These are circular stands made of cane and fashioned like a pair of truncate cones[47] with their apieces together. Generally, they are shown in the sculptures as stands for keeping the vessels over them. The *Vinaya* texts accord references to such wicker stands. In *Cullavagga* they are termed as *Paṭṭa Kaṇḍolikas* and monks were allowed to keep their bowls on the wicker stands. In the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa they occur in more than one place. A stūpa slab (No. 219) represents a wicker stand over which a relic casket is placed. Another sculpture depicting the casting of the horoscope from the life scene of Buddha reveals fine examples of three wicker stands. In the panel on the left are the king Śuddodhana, Queen Māyādevī and female attendants. In the right are shown four seated *Dikpālas* having the three wicker stands in the alignment, before them. Another sculpture No. 260 where Siddhārtha is depicted to have been looking at a man who is taking leave of his lady to admit himself in the order, reveals a wicker stand. Similar wicker stands are noticeable in Amarāvatī Sculptures.[48]

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(*6*) *Wheeled chair* (*Parpā*) (*Fig. XVI, 13*)

Pāniṇi refers to wheeled chairs called *Parpā* used by the disabled persons. One who uses the *Parpā* is called *parpika* apparently same as *Pīṭha Sarpī* of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (XXX.24), Manu (VII.394) and the Jatākas. The solitary sculpture No. 103 representing king Kappina's ordination reveals two wheeled chairs (*Fig. XVI, 13*). Probably the utility of these chairs may be different from that known to Pāṇiṇi. This type of furniture article getting its depiction in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is unique.

(*7*) *Foot rest or Foot stools* (*Pādapīṭhas*) (*Fig. XVII, 14 & 15*)

Foot-rests or foot-stools are referred redundantly in *Suttavibhaṇga*[49], *Mahāvagga*[50] and *Cullavagga*.[51] Generally, they are associated with royal thrones. Both *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* cite copiously *pādapīṭhas* used to keep on washed feet. The *pādapīṭhas* represented in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are either ornate or plain. Mostly they are rectangular and instances where they are cushioned are not wanting.

(*8*) *Bed stead* (*Mañca*) (*Fig. XVII, 16*)

The bed steads are cited at several places, In Vedic literature. Both the *Rigveda*[52] and the *Atharvaveda*[53] make mention of nuptial bed steads and those used by king and his wife. The later *Saṁhitas*[54] and the *Brāhmaṇas*[55] also speak about the bridal bed steads. The *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* actually refers to a *Talpa* to mean a bed stead prepared out of udumbera wood. It is usually with four feet and four frame pieces (*Ushyala*) and is embellished with embroidary and lay work[56]. Pāṇiṇi mentions two kinds of furniture *Sayana* for laying down and other *āsana* for sitting purpose.[57] He also refers to the words *Khaṭva*[58] (a cot) and *Paryaṇaka* or *Pallaṇka*[59] (a couch).

The Buddhist literature gives innumerable references to the word *Mañca* to mean a couch or Bed stead. The *Vinaya Pītakas*[60] *Suttavighaṇga*, *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* teems with the references to this word *Mañca*. The definition of the term we get in Vinaya, iv. 168, 169, and in commentary on *Vibhaṇga*, 365. It is stated that the

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Mañca should be made of eight finger breadth (*aṇgula* high) according to the accepted finger breadth[61] except for the knotched ends below. If this measurement is violated there is an offence of expiation involving cutting down.[62] Interestingly, four kinds of *Mañcas* have been enumerated namely a long one[63], one with slats[64], one with curved legs[65] and one with removable legs.[66] Apart from these four kinds a couch of split bamboo is also spoken off[67]. A bed cover (*Uttarāttharana*) over a chair or a couch has been used to prevent the clothes from being soiled.[68]

The celebrated poet Kālidāsa of the Gupta period cites innumerably the bed steads of his period besides the other furniture, from his *kāvyas*. According to him the word *Talpa*[69] and *Paryaṇika*[70] stand to mean a high bed stead. Another word *Śaiyya* is referred to mean a cover, bed and bed stead as a whole. All furniture mentioned by the poet was provided with a white cover. The one that covered the bed or a long seat was called *Uttaraichada*[71] while the one that wrapped the chairs and the cushions etc. was known as *āstraṇa*.[72]

Again *Amarakośa*[73] mentions the word *Mañca* to mean a bed stead. The later work *Mānasāra* refers to several words such as *Kakaṣṭha*, *Khaṭṭaka* (TTA), *Khaṭva*, *Viṣhadya*, *Paryaṇka*, *Mañca* and *Mañcali* which are synonymous and all mean a bed stead. According to the same work *paryaṇakas* are of two kinds *viz.*, *Bāla Paryaṇka* and *Paryaṇaka*. The former is intended for the children while the latter is meant for the elders. They are distinguished by their sizes.

The iconographic delineation of the bed steads at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is quite remarkable. They appear in both the sculptures depicting the the life scenes of Buddha and Jātaka stories. The two sculptures No. 47 and 48 revealing Māyā Devī's dream give a fine example of the bed stead. The queen Māyā Devī is shown sleeping quietly on a couch having her right side exposed. Another sculpture No. 93 depicting the dead body scene, one of the ominious sights that became a turning point in the career of Gautama reveals a bed stead over which the dead body is made to lie. A lintel slab (No. 49) depicting Champeya Jataka reveals a bed stead. The queen Sumana the wife of the Nāga

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king Champeya is shown lying over the bed stead. Another sculpture (No. 88 depicting Māndhātu Jātaka) reveals the king Māndhātu reclining on a bed stead. A pillar fragment (No. 1222) depicts the bed stead. The bed steads illustrated are made either of wood or cane as in the case of Amarāvati sculptures corresponding well with the *Vetrapaṭṭikā* mentioned by Bāṇa.

Thus, the sculptural representation of the furniture at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa affords an interesting study throwing lucid light on the social history of the people of the day.

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 619.
10. *Raghu*, VI. I. XVII. 7, XIX. 57.
11. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *The Hindu iconography*, (Madras, 1914), Vol. I, part I, Pl. 21.
12. *Simha-Mudrita—Manoharāsanaṁ*
    Kesari-Lānchhitaṁ tv-atha manoharāsanaṁ (*M.*, XLV).
13. *Mānasāra* : *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, Vol. VII.
14. *Mānasāra* : *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, Vol. VII.
15. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 257, e, 1-27.
    "*Tenitad atra kṛitaṁ atma-manova uchchari*
    Vajarāsanaśya bhavanaṁ bhuvanothamasay
    "He is erected here for the Diamond throne, the best thing in the world, this habitation lofty like his own mind".

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Ghorwa Buddhist Inscription, Line 14-15, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-11, 308, Note 5.

16. The numbers denote the accession numbers of the sculptures as preserved in Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the year 1964.
17. *B.D.*, i, 57.6; i, II, 42; i, III, 5.2; i, IV, 1.3; i, II,. 1; *B.D.*, ii, XIV, 23; ii, XIV, 21; *B.D.*, iii, LXXXVII, 2.1; *B.D.*, iii, LXXXIII, 2.2; *B.D*, iv, V, 10.4; *B.Dv*, VI, 4, V, VI, 2.7; V, VI, 3.5; V. VI, 13.2; V, VI, 15.2; V, VIII, 1.3, 4.5; V, VIII, 11.7; V, X, 16.2; V, VI, 2.7; V, VI, 2.4, 15.2; V, VIII.
18. *Vin*, IV, 168. 169 *Vbh.* A., 356.
19. *Cullavagga*, V, VI, 2.4, VA 1216.
20. *CV.*, VI, 2.4. VA 1216.
21. *CV.*, VI, 2.4. VA 1216.
22. *CV.*, VI, 2.4. VA 1216.
23. *CV.*, VI, 2.4 VA 1218.
24. *B.D.*, II; VA 776.
25. *B.D.*, ii, 271, n. 3, *Cullavagga*, I, 8, VI, 14; *Mahāvagga*, Vol. 10.4.
26. 1.5.
27. *AV*, XV, 33, c.f. XIV, 2.6. 5; *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 5, 6, 12.
28. c.f. *Weber Indische studien*, 1.392.
29. *Vinaya texts*, iii, p. 105. *Cullavagga*, VI, 2.4.
30. *Vik.*, p. 138; *Ku*, VII, 72.
31. V.S. Agarwala, *India as known to Pāṇiṇi*, Chapter III, p. 144n. I. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1.397.
32. *Pāṇiṇi*, VIII, 2.12
33. Dīgha Nikāya, 11, 23; *The Book of the Discipline*, iii, XL, 11, 1; *Mahāvagga*, V. 10. 3 (4.5; *Cullavagga*, V, VI, 8; V, 37; VI, 8; VI, 14; VI, 1411.
34. *Thag.* A, I, 137.
35. *Vin*, 1192.
36. *Vin*, II, 163 and also 142-3.
37. *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, I, 181 and *Dīgha Nikāya*, I. 7.
38. *Vin.*, II. 169-70.
39. *VA*, 1216; *Vin*, ii, 143 *mīdhi*; Vin; text iii, 163 says that it is built against the wall of the room or on the varandah against the inter wall of the house or hut, made of hardend mud with two wooden legs infront. It is bench used to sit or sleep on.
40. *Rig Veda*, VII, 55.8.
41. *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, XXX, 21.
42. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 4, 17(1).
43. Ācharya, *Op. Cit.*, p. 461.
44. *Śat. Br.*, X, 4, 2, 9.
45. *Sura-Sadana* (Dewal Prasasti of Lalla, V. 20, *Ep. Indica*, Vol. I, p. 97).

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46. *Mahāvagga*, 10.2.
47. I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, (London, 1942-52), Vol. V, V, 4.
48. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, 1956, Pl. XII. 17, p. 51.
49. *BD.*, III, *Sangha Disease*, IV.1; *VA.*, 913, says a foot-stool to put washed feet on.
50. *Mahāvagga*, I, 6, 11; I, 25, 1p; I, 25.14; IV, 1, 36; IV, 173; IX, 101; X, 4.1. 3.5.
51. *Cullavagga*, 1, 28; VIII, 2 (1), VIII, 5 (3); VIII, 11(4) (5), VIII, 12 (5).
52. *RV.*, VII; 55.8.
53. *AV.*, IV, 5.3; V, 7, 12; XIV, 2, 31, 41.
54. VI, 2, 6.4.
55. *Taitt. Brāh.*, 11, 2, 5, 3.
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61. Sugatangula, Sugata here meaning "Standard" recoginsed accepted right; if Sugata-Vidhatthi, a span of the accepted measure of *Vin.* iii (149); ef Sugata civarat *Vin.*, iv 173 below.
62. *Chedanakam Pacittiyam.*
63. *Māsaraka* : commentary on Vinaya, 773 says : "it is made by boring hole into the feet of the couch and putting a knotched end through there.
64. *Bhuṇḍikabadda*, VA, 773 says, "it is made by holding the bed stead together, having burnt the feet of the couch with knotched ends.
65. *Kulira Pādaka* : or curved VA, 773 says "made with feet like the feet of horses, rams, etc., whatever has curved feet (*Vaṇkapādaka*) lit, carved as the feet is called *Kulira-pādaka*, lit. a crab footer.
66. *Āhacca Pādaka* : VA 774 says that "it is made by piercing the leg. Then having pierced the knotched ends, putting a knot through them and giving a pin above the crack that is made should be called an *āhaccapādaka.*
67. *BD.*, V.VI, 2.4; *Bidalamañcaka.* cf. Ja. i. 9. Dh A1. 135 where mentioned as a feature in the life of one who has gone forth. VA, 1216 says a targ couch or one woven with bamboo chips.
68. *BD.*, II; *VA*, 666 says that it is called a sheet for spreading over a couch, *uttharāttharanaṁ timanacakassa upari attharaṇakaṁ paccatataharanaṁ vuccati.*
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Mañca-Paryaṇaka-Palyaṇkaḥ Kaṭvya Samah Palayaṇkomañca-Paryaṇka-Urshi-Paryasṭi kasuche iti midini.

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47. I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, (London, 1942-52), Vol. V, V, 4.
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50. *Mahāvagga*, I, 6, 11; I, 25, 1p; I, 25.14; IV, 1, 36; IV, 173; IX, 101; X, 4.1. 3.5.
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61. Sugatangula, Sugata here meaning "Standard" recoginsed accepted right; if Sugata-Vidhatthi, a span of the accepted measure of *Vin.* iii (149); ef Sugata civarat *Vin.*, iv 173 below.
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65. *Kulira Pādaka* : or curved VA, 773 says "made with feet like the feet of horses, rams, etc., whatever has curved feet (*Vaṇkapādaka*) lit, carved as the feet is called *Kulira-pādaka*, lit. a crab footer.
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68. *BD.*, II; *VA*, 666 says that it is called a sheet for spreading over a couch, *uttharāttharanaṁ timanacakassa upari attharaṇakaṁ paccatataharanaṁ vuccati.*
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72. *Ibid.*, VI. 4.
73. *Amarakośa*, 2, 3, 138.
Mañca-Paryaṇaka-Palyaṇkaḥ Kaṭvya Samah Palayaṇkomañca-Paryaṇka-Urshi-Paryasṭi kasuche iti midini.

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5

Weapons

The depiction of weapons in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is varied and realistic.[1] In this paper an attempt will be made to relate the forms shown there to the references to weapons in early Indian literature.

Early in the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa[2] many copper and bronze arms were discovered : axes, spears, bows and arrows, maces, slings, daggers etc. In Vedic India, also, the repertory of arms and armour was already well developed. One reads in the *Vedas* of the bow, *dhanus*; the arrow, *bāṇa*, *bunda*, *śaru*, or *śarya*; the spear, *ṛṣṭi* or *srakti*; the awl, *vāśi*; the sword, *asi* or *śāśa*; the lance, *sṛka*; the axe, *prāsa*, *svadhiti*, or *tejas*; the coat of mall, *atka*; the helmet, *sipra*, etc.[3] The Vedic *Kalpa Sūtras* enumerate bows and arrows, sword, spears hatchets and maces among the principal weapons of war. The epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, teem with such allusions. In the fifth century B.C., Pāṇiṇi uses *praharaṇa* as a general term for weapons and speaks of such individual forms as the bow, *dhanus* or *karāmukha*; the spear, *śakti*; the battle-axe, *puraśvadha*; the lance, *kasū*; the sword, *asi*, etc.[4] Similarly one finds in the *Arthaśāstra* a chapter devoted to weapons.[5]

Jain literature is rich in information of this sort; in particular the *Panhavāgarana* provides an elaborate list.[6] Much can be learned from Buddhist writings also.[7] Thus the *Jātakas* mention such arms as the bow, *dhanu* or *cāpa*; the arrow, *śara*, *nārāca*; the axe, *vāśi*, *pharasu*, or *kuṭhāri*; the club, *mugara*; the trident, *śūla*; the sword, *khagga*, *asi*; the jevelin, *sarasatti* and the thunderbolt, *vajra*.[8] Buddhaghosa refers

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to five kinds, the sword, shield, bow, axe, and spear. In the *Milinda-pañha* other forms like the javelin and sabre are added.[9]

There is a comprehensive list in the *Kāvyas* of Kālidāsa, which includes *dhanus*, *bāṇa*, *cakra*, *asi*, *bala*, *bhiṇḍipāla*, *parigha*, *mudgara*, *kṣurapra*, *bhalla*, *gaḍā*, *śūla*, *triśūla*, *śakti*, *vajra*, *paraśu*, *khaḍga*, *śataghnī*, *kūlaśālmali*,[10], etc. Many of these are depicted in the paintings of the Ajanta caves.[11] Even the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsiang speaks of the infantry of his time, the mid seventh century, as using a long shield, spear, bow and arrow, sword, etc.[12] The roughly contemporary works of Bāṇa and Daṇḍi supplement this testimony on the native side.[13]

From such citations it is possible to get an idea of the prevalence of various weapon forms through the ages, some of which were eventually superseded by more efficient models while others remained standard features of the Indian military system.

On the basis of this sort of information, the weapons of war depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa reliefs may be studied under the following typological groups : (*Fig. XVIII, 1-19*) :

I. The sword, *asi*

Asiyaṣṭi (*Fig. XVIII, 7*)
Maṇḍalāgrā (*Fig. XVIII, 6, 15*)
Asiputrikā (*Fig. XVIII, 17, 18*)
Sword in sheath with strap (*Fig. XVIII, 9*)
Dagger, *curikā* (*Fig. XVIII, 11*)
Dagger in sheath, *kośa* (*Fig. XVIII, 19*)

II. Club, *gaḍā* (*Fig. XVIII, 1, 10, 5.13*)

III. Spear, *prāsa* (*Fig. XVIII, 1*)
Spear and shield (*Fig. XVIII, 6*)

IV. Pike, *śūla* (*Fig. XVIII, 3, 4*)

V. Thunderbolt, *vajra* (*Fig. XVIII, 14*),

VI. Axe, *kuthāra* (*Fig. XVIII, 12*)

VII. Bow and arrow, *cāpa* and *śara* (*Fig. XVIII, 8*)

VIII. Shield (*Fig. XVIII, 6*)

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I. *Sword, asi, and dagger, curikā*

The sword has a hoary past in India. As we have seen, it was found among the weapons of the Indus Valley civilization. Its form was as yet primitive, however, and perhaps—as in the Vedic age—its blunt edges kept it from use in battle.[14] The later Vedic *Kalpa Sūtras* cite it among the principal arms of the time, as does Pāṇiṇi. In the *Mahābhārata* the situation has so far changed that Bhiṣma can declare that the sword is of all weapons the best and foremost for all kinds of fighting.

In the *Arthaśāstra* we read of such special variations as *nistriṁśa*, a sword with a crooked end; *asiyaṣti*, one shaped like a staff; and *maṇḍalagra*. The Jain *Panhavāgarna* refers frequently to *khagga*, sword; to *asikheḍga*, sword with shield; and to *mutthiya*, dagger. The sheath, *tharu*, and hilt, *thal*, of the sword are also mentioned. The commonest type of *Khagga* was said to be 33 *aṇgulas* long.[15] The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* and the *Agni Purāṇa*, on the other hand, specify that a sword should not be longer than 50 finger breadths, nor shorter than 25.[16] The *Yukti Kalpataru* describes both good and bad swords.[17] Swords had flat, round or curvilinear points. Short swords were called *asiputrikas*, while daggers were known as *curikas*. Kalidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁsa* (VII, 46, 51) used two words for sword, *asi* and *khaḍga*. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta there is a reference to swords.[18] Later Bāṇa also uses the term *khaḍga* in his *Harṣacarita*.[19]

Generally, the hilts of the swords were made of horn, ivory or wood. In the *Mahābhārata* we hear of hilts made of gold or ivory and set with jewels.[20] In the *jātaka* period also bejewelled hilts made of a precious metal were very popular.[21] Bāṇa describes Harṣa's sword-hilt as being rough from its thick studding with pearls.[22] In the *Rājataraṇgaṇi*, reference is made to piles of gold and silver hilts.[23]

Sheaths were usually of leather, and were tied to the soldier's body either by gold chains or by a leather strap.[24]

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the representation of swords is an interesting feature. Many of the types enumerated in early Indian literature

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may be found, *i.e.* the *asiyaṣṭi*, *maṇḍalāgra*, *asiputrikā* and *curikā* types, realistically shown. For example a cornice beam (No. 42) depicting the conversion of six Śākyan princes reveals a sword of the *asiyaṣṭi* type (*Fig. XVIII, 7*), with a squared-off tip[25]. A vertical slab (No. 255) dealing with the *Śibi Jātaka* shows King Śibi in the process of cutting off his own flesh with a *maṇḍalāgra* (*Fig. XVIII, 16*) with a curved tip, while he holds the dove in his left hand.[26] The same form appears again in a slab representing the *Māndhāta Jātaka*, where a female, presumably an Amazon guard, holds *maṇḍalāgra* in her two hands (*Fig. XVIII, 15*). Two other pieces, Nos. 260 and 41, show leaf-shaped *asiputrikas* (*Fig. XVIII, 17, 18*)[27]. In the second, the weapon is given to King Sibi to slice off his own flesh.

Curikā daggers are several times depicted,[28] *e.g.*, on a cornice beam (No. 45; see *Fig. XVIII, II*). Another (No. 92) shows one in an embellished sheath (*Fig. XVIII, 19*). Sheaths and straps may also be found (*e.g. Fig. XVIII, 9*)[29]. Generally, these sheaths are worn on the left side. The Barhūt sculptures show the sheathed weapon suspended from the left shoulder by a belt.[30] At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, on the other hand, we see it slung from the waist, as on some of the coins of the Gupta emperors.[31] The *Agni Purāṇa* also recommends that the sword should be hung from the waist on the left side.

In general the swords shown in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa reliefs closely resemble those in the sculptures of Amarāvati[33].

II. *Club* (*gaḍā*)

This is a very ancient weapon. The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have uncovered many stone or copper maces, the commonest form being pear-shaped and resembling examples from Elam, Mesopotamia, and Egypt.[34] The epic *Mahābhārata* speaks of the iron *gaḍā* as *iyomagī* or *āyasī*,[35] describing it as four cubits long and either hexagonal or octagonal in cross-section.[36] According to Hopkins "its basic form seems to have been that of a tapering post girded with iron spikes and hence heavy and sharp, sometimes plated with gold, or according to the extravagance of the poet's fancy, bejewelled.[37]" Kauṭilya refers to three kinds of maces as *musala*,

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yaṣṭi and *gaḍā*[38]; the first two pointed and made of *khadira* wood, while the last was long and heavy.

The Jain *Panhavāgarana* enumerates club types under the names *muggara*, Indian club; (*musaṇḍhi*), octagonal club, (*gaḍā*), heavy mace; (*musaḷa*), pestle; (*lauda*), light club; and *bhīndipāla*, (crooked club).[39] In the *Jātaka* the term *muggara* is used.[40] Kālidāsa knew types which he called *parigha*, *mudgara*, *bhindipāla* and *gaḍā*.[41] Later, Śukrāchārya in his *Nītisāra* refers to a *gaḍā* of octagonal cross-section, with a stout handle.[42] A mace that could be hurled is referred to in the copper-plate grant of Śailāditya VII, dated A.D. 766-77.[43] Subsequently, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin also refer to *gaḍā* among current weapons.[44]

The sculptural depiction of *gaḍā* in Indian art is quite interesting, though the form occurs less often than do the bow and arrow. A Sanchi relief shows a two-handed mace.[45] At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa representations are profuse.[46] In some of the sculptures, dwarfs are shown wielding short, stumpy *gaḍas*. Clubs appear on the vertical slab (No. 97) depicting relic casket worship, a cornice beam (No. 41), and two sculptures illustrating Mārā's assault, Nos. 96 and 92; see *Fig. XVIII, 2, 13, 10, 5.*

III. *Spear (prāsa)*

At Mohenjodaro and Harappa many spear heads with a thin, broad blade and a tang were discovered.[47] The spear was also known to the Vedic age,[48] and in the age of the Vedic *Kalpa Sūtras* was one of the principle arms. The *Mahābhārata* uses terms like *śakti*, iron and sometimes ornamented; *tomara*, *javelin*; *prāsa*, and *bhindipala*.[49] The javelin had a very sharp point. *Prāsa* and *bhindipāla* are frequently referred to, the latter being characterized as flung, sharp and frogmounted.[50] Pāṇini also uses *śakti* for spear.[51] Kauṭilya enumerates such varieties as *śakti*, *tomara*, *prāsa* and *bhindipāla*.[52] In Jain literature we find (*satti*) used for a spear, and the weapon was often used in the Buddhist period. Later Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, and Daṇḍin include it among currently used weapons;[53] Bāṇa mentioning a sharp pointed spear, *kṛpāṇadarpaṇa*, with a handle made of *devadaru* wood.

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In the Sanchi reliefs, there are admirable depictions of spears and javelins.[54] Several may be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. A pillar recovered from the Śaka club, No. 222, reveals a fine example of a spear borne by a soldier (*Fig. XVIII, 1*).[55] In the vertical slab No. 93, both spear and shield are shown (*Fig. XVIII, 6*).[56]

IV. *Pike* (*śūla*):

The single-bladed *śūla* was distinguished by name from the triple-forked *triśūla*, trident. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (II, 18) mentions both types, classifying the pike among weapons with plough shape-like edges, *balamukham*, which were put under movable machines. The *śūla* was a terrible weapon which was twirled furiously before the final thrust.[57] It occurs in both Jain and Buddhist writings; and also is mentioned in the list of arms given in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[58]

Both long and short pikes are rendered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The latter may have been used as goads by elephant drivers, called *aṇkuśa*. The vertical slab No. 92 contains long pike (*Fig. XVIII, 3*)[59]; while another No. 260, shown a shorter one (*Fig. XVIII, 4*). At Amarāvati, a *triśūla* is depicted among the sculptures.

V. *Thunderbolt*, (*vajra*) (*Fig. XVIII, 14*)

The *vajra* was Indra's weapon with which he destroyed his enemies. Kauṭilya speaks of the *vajra* as a kind of club made of iron.[60] The *vajra* is frequently mentioned in the *jātaka*[61] and is cited in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa.[62]

IV. *Axe*[63] (*kuthāra*)

The axe as a weapon of war was used as early as the Indus Valley Civilization;[64] though it is mentioned in the *Rigveda* as a tool only.[65] In the *Mahābhārata*, we find several synonyms for the axe, *e.g. parāsu*, *paraśvadha*, *Kuliśa* and *kuṭhāra*.[66] Pāṇini knew the battle-axe *paraśvadha*.[67] Kauṭilya refers to *parāsu* and *kuthāra*, calling the latter well-known and classifying it as a razor-like weapon.[68] The Jain *Panhavāgarṇa* refers to both battle-axe *paṭṭisa*, and axe *parāsu*.[69] In

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the Jātakas variant terms for axe, *vasi*, *pharaśu* and *kuṭhāri* are used.[70] The battle-axe is referred to in Samudragupta's pillar inscription; and in the age of Kālidāsa the *parāsu* was well known.[71]

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa a typical axe is represented, for example, on the vertical slab No. 92 (*Fig. XVIII, 12*).

VII. *Bow, dhanus and arrow, śara*

In the ancient periods the bow was the weapon par excellence. The excavations at Mohenjodara and Harappa have revealed many arrow-heads of copper and bronze.[72] In Vedic India, bow and arrow were in widespread use[73], the former being a curved staff with a string usually made of cow hide.[74] Pāṇiṇi also knew the dhanus (III, 2, 21). The *Mahābhārata* measures bow lengths by *tālāmātra*, palms' breadths.[75]

Kauṭilya names many bow types, distinguished by materials; *kārmakha* being made of *palmyra*, the *kodaṇḍa* of bamboo, the *drūṇa* of wood and the *dhanus* of horn. He speaks of bow strings as made of *mūrvā*, *sansarira roxbur luana*; of *arka*, *calotropis gigantea*; of *śaṇa*, hemp; of *gavedhu coix barbata*; of *veṇu*, bamboo bark; and of *snāyu*, sinew. The word *cāpa* is used for bow in Jain literature, while *dhanu* and *cāpa* appear in Buddhist. Generally, the bow-string was made of swallow-wort or bamboo or sinew of milk weed and was coral in colour. Vishṇu's bow, the *Sāraṇgadhanus*, was made of horn. In the *Jātakas*, bows made of ram's horn, bamboo, or wood are frequently mentioned.[76] Kālidāsa describes bows made of flexible rods, with their ends joined by means of a string called *jya*.[77] In the *Agni Purāṇa*, construction of a bow is described.[78]

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa bows are frequently represented;[79] as for example on a cornice beam (No. 43), held by Mārā as he leads his attacking host (*Fig. XVIII, 8*).

The shaft of the arrow was made of *śara* reed, wood, or bamboo. A butt, *puṇkha* was added, with feathers to stabilize the flight, these last being usually four in number and fastened by means of threads or sinews. The head was often of horn, bone, wood, or metal,

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Kauṭilya mentioning the last three.[80] Arrow-head shapes were likened to various animal heads. Some has special names like *ardhacandra*, *karṇī*, *bhalla*, *kṣura*, *vekanda*, *karavirapatta*, etc.[81] Arrows made entirely of iron were called *mārāca*; many of this type are cited in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Jātakas*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, etc.

Some of the reliefs at Sanchi show arrows provided with butts.[82] At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, their depiction is remarkable.[83] The relief showing Mārā cited above (*Fig. XVIII, 8*) places in the God's right hand a flower-headed arrow, *puṣpa bāṇa*, the legendary weapon of love.

VII. *Shields*

The Mahābhārata uses several synonyms *carma*, *phalaka*, *śarāvara*, *śarāvaraṇa*, etc.[84] Shields were usually covered with tiger's skins or bull's hides, and were further decorated with golden stars or the crescent moon.[85] Kauṭilya mentions as materials creepers, bamboo, wood and leather.[86] The *Jātakas* refer to extra-long shields and mention the strong defense against arrows afforded by meticulously fashioned shields with 100 leather layers.[87] Later references occur in works like the *Mānasollāsa* and the *Yukti Kalpataruvu*.[88] In the latter we read that the shield should be round vartulāṇi and made of canes, wood or hide.[89]

Many Sanchi reliefs show shields.[90] At Amarāvati, an extra long form is shown.[91] Similar long shields are represented at Goli and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; a vertical slab (No. 93) from the latter site shows such a shield with a spear behind it (*Fig. XVIII, 6*).[92]

Thus, the lithographic divulgence of the weapons of war at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is impeccable and affords a felicitous study throwing vivid light on the adroitness of the warriors of the day who used them.

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21. V, No. 522, p. 73; IV, no 543, p. 113.
22. P. 50 (translated into English by Cowell, E.B. and Thomas F.W., I ondon, 1897).
23. VII, 1517.
24. In the Mahābhārata the leather sheath is termed *khaḍga carmaṇī. Cullavagga*, VII, 3, 7; *Vinaya*, VII, p. 243. *Asi* is a word in both Sanskrit and Pali; hence *asicamma*.
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50. *Udyogparva*, 19, 3; 154, 9.13; *Vanaparva*, 20, 33; *Virātaparva*, 32, 10; *Droṇaparva*, 24, 58; *Bhīṣmaparva*, 106, 23.
51. IV, 4, 59.
52. II, 18.
53. Kālidāsa refers to words like *śakti* and *bhalla*, meaning spear or javelin; Ragb. XII, 77; IV, 63; VII, 50; IX, 66. *Harṣacarita*, pp. 188, 194; *Dasakumāracarita*, p. 66.
54. Maisey, Pl. XXXV, 29-34; VI, 2; XX; XXVII. Marshall and Foucher, Sanchi, II, Pls. 15, 61.
55. Longhurst, Nagarjunakonda, pls. X(C, D); XLIX(B).
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6

Games and Amusements of the Ikshvakus

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is an isolated valley in the Palnād taluq of Guntur District of Āndhra Pradesh. It is enclosed by formidable natural fortifications of small hill ranges which are but off-shoots of Nallamala range. It was here some time in the 1st quarter of the 3rd century A.D. that the founder of Ikshvāku dynasty established his capital Vijayapuri. The rule of the Ikshvākus for about a century and a half was a golden period in the history of Āndhras. People enjoyed peace and tranquility. They were prosperous and thriving. Evidently, the economic prosperity coupled with congenial political peace and religious zeal resulted in the creation of a flourishing society. This cosy life of the people provided gay and merry time. In order to keep themselves away from the monotonous humdrum life, at times, they busied themselves in games and amusements. They knew many games like dice-play, the marble play, the hopscotch and building of sand castles of which some are represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures while the others are supplemented by the excavations. The amusements known to them include wrestling matches, cock-fighting snake charming, stick-play, bathing etc.

GAMES

(a) *Sand Castles*

In one of the panels revealing, the "Gift of Earth" is illustrated this kind of game.

A house built by children presumably of a well to do householder can be seen in the panel. This house with vaulted roof reveals

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on windows. Apparently, the children had left out the windows deliberately as they possibly presented difficulty in their construction. In all probability, this house was constructed out of sand by children. In *Jātakas*, we find references to children playing the game of building the sand castles (*kalakanni*).

(b) *Marble play*

Another game known to the Ikshvākus was the marble play. During the excavation, innumerable unpierced terracotta balls which might have been used for marble play were discovered. This marble play is a popular game among children even to this day. In the Jain literature, a reference is made to *lac* marbles (*vaṭṭayas*) in connection with play things for boys and girls. In Āndhra Pradesh, this game is locally known as the play of "*goli kāyalu*".

(c) *Hop-scotch*

A number of unpierced pottery discs with which this game was played have been discovered in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa excavation. These pottery discs are common in almost all early historical sites and were evidently used as game pieces for hop-scotch play. This is presently played in Āndhra, Karnātaka, Tamilnādu, Maharāshtra States of South India. In Āndhra, it is known as "*Tokkuḍu billā*". In Maharāstra, it goes by the local name "*Tikari billā*" and is very popular among children particularly girls as elsewhere.

(d) *Balls game*

These balls are found held by the child standing in the left extremity of the panel illustrating Gift of Earth. The balls are tied to the ends of a strip of cloth. Such balls (*tindukas*) made of cloth (*celagola*) are referred to in Jain literature as playthings for the boys and girls. Even the *Jātakas* refer to such games played with balls (*beṇḍukam*). Because of the string even if the ball was thrown, it still returns to the child's hand. This kind of plaything can be seen even to this day being played by the children. It is known by the local name in Maharāstra as "*Lārilappa*". It is a rubber ball filled with

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water and tied to a rubber string. Kālidāsa speaks of balls which were played by boys and girls in his *kāvyas*. It appears the Egyptian children played with balls made of porcelean, papyrus, leather stuffed with chopped straw.

(e) *Toy boxes*

In one of the sculptures, a *vamanika* is shown with a box. It is quite likely that she is carrying a box containing dolls (*pottula*) which is a common feature even among the present day girls who play with such dolls which are kept in a box of wood or a basket.

It is interesting to note that a village Kondāpur in Āndhra Pradesh, wooden dolls of folk art are still being manufactured. They are sold in a small palmyra basket. Locally, they are known as "*Lakkapidathalu*", or miniature toy-pictures, pots etc. It is essentially the plaything of the girls.

(f) *Dice-play*

Another game that was known to the Ikshvāku period was the dice play. The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have brought to light many dice-pices indicating thereby the prevalence of dice-play during those days.

The origin of the dice-play can be traced back to the remote past. Earliest Archaeological evidence of it is found in the excavations of Mohanjodaro and Harappa. The vedic literature and later works refer to the dice-play at several places. In the *Mahābhāratha*, this game has been called as a game of lamentation. In Jain and Buddhist literature, a reference to this is made very often.

(g) *Game board on the bathing ghat*

Interestingly, some of the bathing ghat slabs excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa contain line drawings of a game board. As the diagram shows, the game board consists of eight rows having eight squares in each row. The game played on this board can be identified as "*Aṭṭhāpada*" game referred to by Buddhaghosha.

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Another fragmentary board is on the mandapa flooring slab near four spoked stūpa. It is again a game board generally used for playing the "*Aṭṭhāpada*" play. The *Aṭṭhāpada* was a kind of gambling. It is now known as *Chaturaṇga*—Indian chess.

(h) *Game boards from burning ghat area*

On the northern slopes of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, are situated structures pertaining to the burning ghat of the Ikshvākus. In this area, on some of the flooring slabs of a maṇḍapa are seen incised figures of game boards in rows, two, three and five consisting of same number of squares in each respective row used in the dice play. Of them, the one with five rows is interesting. The mode of play with this kind of game-board recalls the modern game "*Patchis*". There is not much difference between the games played in the ancient Indian and modern times. The modern games—*Zanabetha*, *Pulijūdam*, *Aṣṭachamma*, and *Patchis* reveal their close affinity to many of the ancient games. In all probability, these modern games are only the derivations of those ancient games and have come down to us.

AMUSEMENTS

(a) *Wrestling*

The wrestling appeared to be a favourite past-time during the Ikshvāku period. A stone medallian represents two wrestlers (*Mallas*) engaged in the wrestling. One of them has held the other by the thigh with his left hand while his right hand has entwined the opponent's left hand. Thus, the other is almost in surrendering position and seems to be making utmost efforts to extricate him-self by giving a hit with his closed fist.

The wrestling matches (*jetaśramah*) were generally arranged in arenas or open-air theatres (*samājvates*) or (*Prekaṣāgāras*). During the course of recent excavation, an arena was unearthed at Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa were amusements like wrestling matches, bull fights, cock fights were presumably conducted.

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(b) *Cock-fighting*

Another amusement for the people of Ikshvāku period was the cock-fighting. On a lotus medallian two cocks are shown face to face in the act of attacking each other. Evidently, the arenas could have been the place, where the amusements like these were conducted. Probably, like the Athenians, the Ikshvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa perfected this game and adopted it as one of the popular past-times of the period.

The cock fighting appears to be the very ancient out-door sport in India. The earliest Archaeological evidence was found in the excavations of Taxila. No direct reference is available to the cock-fighting in Vedic literature. The *Amarakośa*, Bāṇa's *Harṣhacharita* and Daṇḍin's *Dasakumāracharitam* speak of the cock fights known to their period profusely. Outside India, the antiquity of cock-fighting can be traced back to 5th century B.C. In China, Persia and other eastern countries it is a popular game by that time. In India, it was introduced sometime during the Alexander's campaign. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, it came with Romans with whom trade contacts existed in the early century of the Christian era. Today, it still prevails among some village communities but in lesser degree.

(c) *Snake-charming*

That the people of the Ikshvāku period also knew the amusements like snake-charming, can be known from the panel illustrating the "Champeya Jātaka". This would reveal that certain sections of the people like snake-charmers earned their livelihood by snake-charming while giving amusement to the people.

(d) *Stick-play*

An *āyaka* cornice stone reveals a person holding a piece presumably of wood in each of his hands. He is shown in the act of striking one piece with the other. Evidently, he must be dancing by striking the sticks. This kind of stick play is generally seen in music parties where the people with this kind of sticks will dance while striking the sticks one against other individually or in groups. Similar

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plays can be seen even to this day before temple car festivals or in *bhajan mandirs* in Āndhra Pradesh. The play is known as *Kolātaṁ*, locally. In Karnātaka region this play is known as *Kolāta*. "*Kolu*" in Kanarese language means stick and "*āta*" means play. In Maharāshtra, also stick-play of this kind can be seen in similar contexts. It is generally known by the name "*tipri*" in Maharāshtra. This play is also very common in Tamilnādu and Gujarāt states.

Thus, one can enumerate vividly the copious games and amusements known to the Ikshvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Equally interesting is a fact that many of these ancient games are surviving in Āndhra region in one form or the other. The ancient games like sand castles, ball game, marble play, hopscotch, play with toy boxes are very much present in present day games. Similarly the *Aṣṭapada* noticed as an ancient game in the times of Ikshvākus period has its modern derivatives in the games like *patchis*, *aṣṭachamma*, Indian-chess, *puli-jūdam jāna-betta*, known to the Āndhra Pradesh. Many of these games are still being played in rural areas. Similarly amusements like cock-fight, bull fight, stick-play, snake-charming are all still prevalent in Āndhra region. In this way, the present day people of Āndhra region are very much indebted to the ancestors who were the fore-runners of these games.

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7

Nose Ornament—Its Origin

In India, the nose ornament is regarded as indispensable for a Hindu married lady. It is a sign of *saubhāgya*. But it is surprising that neither the early Indian literature nor the early Indian art divulges the nose ornaments. Some historians went even to the extent of presuming that nose ring has a foreign origin and perhaps was borrowed from the Mohammadans. This would explain according to them, the absence of the nose ornament in early literature, sculpture and paintings.

The entire vedic literature does not make mention of the nose ornaments. Even the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* which gives a graphic account of the ornaments worn by Sita does not speak of the nose ornament.

Simililarly, Bharata who gives a list of ornaments in his *Nāṭya śāstra* is silent about the nose ornament. Again, Amarasiṁha in his *Amarakośa* while including *mukta, kirīta, cūḍāmaṇi, torala, patrapāśya, karṇikā, kuṇḍala, laṁbana, urahsutrikā, hāra* etc., among the list of ornaments does not include any nose ornament.

However, it is argued till recently that references to the usage of nose ring occur in Sankarācharya's *stotras* like *Saundaryalahari, Yamunāṣṭaka, Tripurasundari mānasa pūja* and *Devicaṣhṭayapacāra* and as such the adoption of the nose ring in India cannot be earlier than the seventh century A.D. Moreover, by the seventh century A.D., the nose ring was commonly known to Malabaris, who probably borrowed it from the Arabs who were in trade with them at that time. It is quite likely that these Arabs borrowed the nose ring from the Hebrews as mentioned in the *Old Testament*. The practice of

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wearing the nose ornament and considering it as insignia of *Saubhāgya* by Indians seem to be not as early as it is expected to be and probably it cannot be earlier than the 7th century A.D. by which time the contemporary literature refers to it.

But this argument does not seem to be sound. Interestingly, a Terracotta female figurine discovered at Chagtur reveals a nose ornament. This figurine is dated to the 1st-2nd cent. A.D. of the Sātavāhana period. Again, as early as in the 3rd century A.D. at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a woman presumably of foreign origin is shown portrayed on a gold medallian with a nose ornament. It is a rounded protuberance or knot on the nostril. It resembles very much the *mukku kutti* or nose peg of South India. The *mukku kutti* is a screw inserted on the side of the nostril in a hole bored for the purpose. A precious stone is embedded in the centre of the screw. The knob seen on the nostril of the woman portrayed on the gold medallian at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may well have been one such stone. Further, the dress and the curly hair of the woman betray unmistakably foreign origin. It is quite probable that the nose ornament worn by her also may be of foreign origin. Moreover, such practice of wearing nose ornaments by the foreign ladies is attested as early as to the period of late Minoan and Mycanaen (1600-1100 B.C.).

As such, it would not be surprising to find the nose ornament on the nostril of the foreign lady. However, it should be noted that Indian literature and the sculptures do not offer any reference to such nose ornaments as worn by foreign ladies.

In some of the *mithuna* figures at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa a male lover is shown adjusting the nose ornament while the lady love is shown looking at the mirror. Else where, lady love herself is adjusting her nose ring while looking at the mirror. Such instance apparently confirm the prevalence of nose ornament in the early centuries of the christian era.

In literature too, (the Prākṛit literature) *aṁgavijjā* refers to a word orani to mean as one of the ornaments bearings feminine names (*strināṁabhūshaṇa*). The *Nisīthacūrṇi* explain *orani* as a *nāsikābhūsaṇa*.

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This evidently, indicates that the nose ornament was known to the Indians in the early times, as early as in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. and adoption of them in profusion was rather late as the seventh century A.D. Perhaps, it is because of the non-adoption of the nose ornaments in profusion, the figures depicted in the plastic art reveal the paucity of the nose ornament.

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8

The Domestic Art

Introduction

The term Gandhāra appears for the first time in the *Rigveda*[1] wherein it has been defined as a region on the north-western frontier of India. However, a more specific definition of the term is available from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, who visited India in the early seventh century A.D. Accoding to him, the kingdom of Gandhāra constituted the tract of country lying on the west bank of the Indus which includes the Peshawar valley and the modern Swat Buner, and Bajaur.[2] Thus, situated on the borderland between India and Western Asia, Gandhāra belonged as much and as little to the one as to the other. However, the art that thrived at Gandhāra was not the first to arise on Indian soil. Even earlier, the ancient schools of Indian Art are represented by the sculptures of Barhūt[3], Bodhgaya[4], Sanchi[5], the facade of the rock temples of Orissa[6] and the Konkan[7] and the pre-Kushāṇa sculptures of Mathura[8]. The school of Gandhāra on the other hand, though later in date, does not appear to be the natural continuity of these early art schools. It reveals the clear impact of the Hellenistic influence, displays comparatively evolved technical skill, and introduces new foreign motifs. Nevertheless, it is primarily religious in character, serving the Buddhist faith.[9] Thus, the form is strongly Hellenistic, while the matter is yet Indian. Consequently, this intimate fusion of the widely divergent elements, unmistakably dominates the material culture depicted in the Gandhāra reliefs. Obviously therefore, religion, some foreign elements and indigenous traits have caused indelible

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impressions on the society and civilization of the Gandhārans as visualized in the sculptures.

An attempt has been made in the paper to study the extent of the impact of these factors in respect of the domestic art delineated in the Gandhāra reliefs. An endeavour has also been made to locate the contemporary plastic parallels and finally to confirm the archaeological data with the literary one.

DOMESTIC VESSELS

The vessels depicted in the reliefs are varied and typologically include : (i) bowls and saucers; (ii) wine-cups; (iii) goblets; (iv) drinking horns; (v) mugs; (vi) amphorae; (vii) kūjas; (viii) spouted vessels; (ix) vases; (x) pots; (xi) incense burner; (xii) troughs; (xiii) krate; (xiv) wine-vats; (xv) wine-skins or wine bags.

(i) *Bowls and Saucers*

In the reliefs, the bowls appear frequently. In the panels[10] representing 'offering of the four bowls to the Buddha' and 'conversion of Nanda', the bowls, probably containing rice soup or similar other edibles, are illustrated as being offered to the Buddha by the princes and Nanda. The bowl have incurved featureless rim and round base (*Fig. XIX, 1*). These bowls can be identified as *thālikā*[11] of the Buddhist literature.[12] Similar bowls are represented in the sculptures of Barhūt[13], Amarāvati[14], Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[15] etc.

Again, the toilet tray[16], illustrating the crowded drinking-scene, offers a saucer evidently of Greek origin. A man is shown drinking wine from the saucer. This saucer with incurved sides and sharpened rim with flat base (*Fig. XIX, 2*) may represent Greek '*phiale*'[17]. Such drinking vessels, made in the form of saucers or bowls, are very common in Greek vessels. The present example of *phiale* has also close resemblance to Roman *patera*[18].

The phiale appears in Chiot and Corinthian pottery at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. and later occassionally in Attic pottery.[19] In another instance, a *nāginī* appears with a different

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variety of bowl.[20] The bowl is bigger in size with a luted, slender handle reaching from the rim to the foot on either side. It again appears to be a Greek vessel. It can be identified as '*carchesion*'[21], a vessel which is generally used for drinking wine. A kneeling woman from Taxila[22] offers a hemispherical bowl. It has featureless and externally grooved rim and round base. The woman appears to be a foreigner wearing a foreign dress. The bowl which she holds again could have been of Hellenistic origin. Similar bowls devoid of handles and with or without a ring-foot are common in Hellenistic black-painted ware. The so called Megarian bowl has comparable parallel to the present example (*Fig. XIX, 3*).[23]

(ii) *Wine cups*

The wine-cups depicted in the reliefs are of Greek or Graeco-Parthian origin. Thus, in two panels representing drinking scene on toilet trays, can be seen a cup with a single handle presumably raising high above the rim (*Fig. XIX, 3a*). This may be *cyathus*, the Greek cup.[24]

The panels[25] illustrating 'Head of Dionysus' and 'Dowager and man with bowl' represent another variety of wine-cup. They have two handles with or without carinated profile and pedestal or ring-base (*Fig. XIX, 4*). These cups are evidently the '*kantharos*'[26] of Graeco-Parthian period.

The *kantharos* becomes common only in the fourth century. In the Hellenistic period, it looses its importance to the *Megarian* bowl.[27] However, the specimen represented in the reliefs can be dated to 300 B.C. It appears, the Greeks knew four kinds of wine-cups, namely, *skyphos*, *kotyle*, *cylix* and *kantharos*.[28] In Buddhist literature, words *chaṣaka* or *pānapātra* stand to mean wine-cups.

However, in early Indian art wine-cups are depicted in profusion. They appear in Suṇga[29], Sātavāhana[30] and Kushāṇa art as also in the ivories from Begram.[31]

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(iii) *Goblets*

Goblets found in the Gandhāra reliefs are typical of the Parthian periods. They have carinated bodies, deeply flared mouths, horizontal flutings or bands, and pedestal bases (*Fig. XIX, 5*). Thus, a few panels[32] representing these Parthian goblets were evidently used as wine-cups. These goblets have close resemblance to the Greek goblet *holmose*.[33]

(iv) *Drinking horn*

A solitary example of a *nāginī* holding a drinking horn in her right hand occurs in the reliefs.[34] The drinking horn has a wide mouth with the sides tapering towards the bottom (*Fig. XIX, 6*). It represents the Greek rhyton. The Romans borrowed most of their drinking vessels from the Greeks. The drinking horns were generally fitted with silver and during the imperial times they were often embellished with finely cut gems.[35] In art, we find a similar specimen in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures.[36]

(v) *Mugs*

Mug is depicted in the reliefs only once. The panel[37] illustrating 'drinking party of nine figures' represents a foreigner holding a mug. The mug is cylindrical in shape with multi-ribbed exterior. It has a big handle luted to the brim of the rim and profile (*Fig. XIX, 7*). The base is flat and the very appearance suggests that the mug was probably made of some metal. It has unmistakable Hellenistic origin. It is noteworthy that the metal tankards of similar type still survive in Kashmir and North-west frontier.

(vi) *Amphorae*

In one instance,[38] a lady is shown holding an amphora vessel in her left hand. It has a vertical neck, globular body and pedestal base. It is also provided with two handles. They are luted to the rim and the body (*Fig. XIX, 8*). The specimen represented in the relief appears to be a Greek amphora. It is generally either buried up to the middle in the ground or set up slanting against the wall. It served

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to keep oil, honey and more especially the wine drawn off from the big fermenting vats.[39] Generally, the amphora is of two main classes, namely, the neck-amphora and one-piece amphora. Besides nikosthenic, villanvan, amphoriskoi, amphorae were also known.[40] The Romans used *cadi* for storing Greek wines.

(vii) *Kūjas*

Kūjas are represented in the reliefs profusely. Generally, they are seen with sages or ascetics, monks, Brahma and Maitreya.[41] For Brahma and particularly to Maitreya, *kūja* appear to be an inevitable appendage. The *kūja* illustrated in the relief has a long neck, globular body and flat base (*Fig. XIX, 9*). The *kūjas* could have been used either for carrying drinking water or wine. These may be identified as *sarka*[42] and probably the Persian word *surāhi* is related to this.

The *kūjas* with their polished surface, thin section and fine fabric may represent Samian wares.[43] Many *kūjas* or sprinklers of 'Red Polished Ware', which is said to be the Indian imitation of Roman Samian ware, are reported to have been recovered from the excavation in western India and the Deccan in circa first-second century A.D. At Amarāvati, Samian ware is available.

In early Indian art, however, the depiction of *kūjas* are in plenty. The specimen found in the reliefs of Gandhāra are to be seen in the sculptures of Sanchi[44], Amarāvati[45], Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[46] etc.

(viii) *Spouted Vessels*

Spouted vessels occur in the reliefs more than once.[47] They have vertical necks, globular bodies and pedestal or ring bases. A spout is luted to the body. A handle is also provided in order to provide a grip. It is luted to the rim and the body (*Fig. XIX, 10*). These spouted vessels with the handles on the side may represent *Bhiṇkāra* of the Buddhist texts.[48]

In art, the depiction of the spouted vessels are in plenty. The sculptures of Sanchi,[49] Barhūt,[50] Amarāvati,[51] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[52] Mathura depict kūjas similar to those found in the Gandhāra reliefs.

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Apart from this, the panel[53] representing drinking scene on a toilet tray illustrates a *flagon* evidently of Greek or Roman origin. It is having high vertical neck, globular body and prominent pedestal base. It has a handle provided at the side and luted to the rim and profile (*Fig XIX, 11*).

This may represent oinochoe of the Greek[54]. The name *oinochoe* in Greek means 'wine-pourer' and similar utility is seen in the case of present example also. It is noteworthy that the Roman *flagons*[55] of the early centuries of the Christian era also betray resemblance to the present example.

Sometimes, the spouted vessels have handles on the top[56] (*Fig. XX, 12*) instead of at the sides as seen above. This type of spouted vessel with the handle on the top may be identified as '*kamaṇḍalu*' the survival of which can be seen in the *kamaṇḍalus* used by the Indian ascetics and fakirs. In Buddhist literature it is represented as *Dhammakaraka*.[57] In art, the depiction of the spouted vessels with handles either on the side or in the top are profuse and appears in the sculptures of Sanchi,[58] Barhūt,[59] Amarāvati,[60] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[61] Mathura,[62] etc.

(ix) *Vases*

Vases that occur in some reliefs[63] have close resemblance to the proto-corinthian[64] and Sassanian[65] silver vases.

(x) *Pots*

Two varieties of pots, namely the miniature pots and huge storage pots, are represented in the reliefs. In the panel representing "Bath of the infant Buddha"[66], Brahma and Vajrapāṇi are shown pouring water with miniature pots, on the head of the infant Buddha. They have a spherical body and a round base. These may represent the *paribhojanīya ghaṭas* mentioned in the Vinaya texts.[67] The sculptures of Barhūt, Sanchi, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa depict many such miniature pots.[68] The huge storage pots occur frequently in the reliefs.[69] They are having externally thickened rim, spherical body and round base (*Fig. XX, 13*). These storage pots can be identified as

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udakamaṇika or *paniyaghaṭa* of the Buddhist texts.[70] Similar storage pots can be seen in the sculptures of Barhūt, Sanchi, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura.[71]

(xi) *Incense burner of altars*

Thrice it is represented in the sculptures. The panels[72] representing "The Buddha's teaching" illustrates an incense altar being worshipped by two men. It has three legs and from its base, a shaft arises, tapering towards the top. Over this, stands a disc or a cup, the receptacle for the fire (*Fig. XX, 14*). Again, a different variety of incense burner is met with in the panel illustrating the "coffin of the Buddha". In this, it has rectangular base from which rises the shaft. The shaft is having a bulbous body in tiers and terminates into a disc or a cup.[73] The presence of such incense burners at the coffin of the Buddha incidentally suggests the social practice of keeping the light near the dead body. It is interesting to note that similar custom survives even to this day in many parts of India. Again in another instance[74] the incense altar has a solid round base from which a shaft rises and terminates into a cup or a receptacle intended for fire.

(xii) *Trough*

The example that occurs in the reliefs[75] has an ovoidal body with round or flattish base (*Fig XX, 14a*). It has a thick and externally rolled rim. Sometimes these troughs were provided with foot-rests (*paṭṭamaṇḍala*).[76]

(xiii) *Krater*

Twice it is represented in the reliefs.[77] It is a Greek vessel in which, generally, wine was mixed with water. The specimens in the sculpture are moderately large with wide necks and bodies and pedestals. Owing to the rough representation, it is difficult to say whether they are provided with handles. The different varieties of kraters namely, kotyle-krater, column-krater, volute-krater, calyx-krater, bell-krater, etc., were known to the Greeks.[78] The one that is represented in the sculptures resembles bell-krater[79] (*Fig. XX, 15*). This type of krater was available as early as the fifth century B.C. and became extremely common in the early part of the fourth century

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B.C.[80] It came to Gandhāra alone with the Greeks some time in second century B.C.

(xiv) *Wine-vat*

Wine-vat appears on the toilet tray[81] representing "Crowded drinking-scene" (*Fig. XX, 16*). Such Greek-wine-vats are generally used for mixing wine. The Greek *bikos* and the Roman *seria*, were smaller vats of the same kind but were used for storing salts, meats, figs, corns etc.[82]

(xv) *Wine-skins or wine-bags*

Wine-skin or wine-bags are represented in the reliefs.[83] They were known as *askos* in Greek.[84] Presumably, the bag was made by sewing a number of skins together. Even to this day, similar begs are being used for storing *toddy*, country liquors, in many parts of India. The specimen represented in the relief may be *askos* known to the Greeks and probably came to Gandhāra along with the Greeks.

Wine Preparation Techniques

Two reliefs[85] representing crowded drinking-scene and an unidentified pannel visualize the technique of wine preparation as known to the Gandhārans. The toilet tray representing crowded drinking-scene illustrates in the middle register a large wine-vat, rising from acanthus leaves. In this wine-vat two men, one on the back of the other are treading grapes. While a lad in the centre draws off the juice in a tall flagon, to the left, another man is carrying a wine-skin on his back and emptying its contents into a krater. Thus, the whole thing indirectly reveals the technique of the preparation of wine. In the centre, two men are standing inside a low tank, holding a pole with which to crush or to knead the grapes. Through the spout on the side of the tank, the juice flows into a low bowl while a man standing at the left of the press seems to hold a fresh supply of grapes in his hands. From a bag suspended from a tripod filtered juice drips into a tall wine jug standing on the ground.

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OTHER HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

Basket

A rectangular basket with lid presumably made of palmyra occurs in the panel[86] illustrating "Monks and doners in Iranian costumes". The basket has criss-cross decoration on the exterior (*Fig. XX, 17*). The man holding it is an Iranian in Iranian costumes. In that case the basket he is holding may probably also be of Iranian origin.

Trays

The number of Gandhāra toilet trays excavated at Taxila[87] are round and have frilled rims. They are assigned to the Śaka-Parthian period and betray unmistakable Hellenistic influence.[88]

Fans

The sculptures[89] depict two varities of fans, namely, the square-shaped and the crescent-shaped ones. Thus, in one panel[90] two examples of square-shaped fans, both held by monks occur. In both the cases, the fan has a side handle (*Fig. XX, 18*). Again in the panel[91] illustrating the "invitation of Srigupta" a fan with crescent-like form is met with (*Fig. XX, 19*). In Amarāvati sculptures and in the paintings of Ajanta, both the varieties found at Gandhara are available.[92] At Gandhāra, the square-shaped ones have been favoured to that of the other form. The popularity of this square-shaped fan is continued in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[93] and even in the paintings of Ajanta.

Toilet Articles

Mirror (Mukura)

In the panel[94] illustrating "conversion of Nanda" the 'enticement scene' reveals the toilet scene of the bride of Nanda. She is shown being toileted. The *prāsādikā* is arranging her coiffure while herself adjusting it by looking in the mirror. A mirror and a small casket, probably containing scented oil, are seen kept on the tripod.

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The mirror has a round disc mounted on a handle which has a pedestal base[95] (*Fig. XX, 20*).

In early Indian art, mirrors occur in the sculptures of Barhūt, Amarāvati, Mathura, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc.

Casket

In the same panel[96] by the side of the mirror can be seen a casket with knobbed lid. Probably it might have contained scented oil, one of the requisites of a toilet. In that case the casket may represent *taila mañjūṣa* of Kālidā sa.

Razor (kṣura)

There is a solitary representation of a razor in the reliefs. The panel[97] illustrating "Three scenes from the story of Nanda" reveals a barber with his knife. The razor appears to have a curved terminal. The head of Nanda is being shaved with razor's edge. The razor depicted in the panel has close similarity with the modern ones. In Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures, a parallel example is met with.[98]

Curved staff

In one instance[99] Dionysus is shown holding a curved staff (*thyrsos*)[100] with a bell suspended at its end (*Fig. XX, 21*). It closely resembles the handle of a *kylix*.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the foregoing study of the domestic art depicted in the sculptures reveals the predominance of the foreign impact. In respect of the domestic vessels represented in the sculptures, one can see the presence of the variety of Greek or Graeco-Parthian vessels. The Greek vessels like *phiale* (saucer), *carchesion* and *megarian* (bowls), *cyathus* (wine-cups), *holmos* (goblets), *rhyton* (drinking horn), *amphore*, *oinochoe* (flagon), *krater* (wine-vat), *askos* (wine bags), besides Graeco-Parthian wine-cups (*kantharas*), appear, in the reliefs. However, it does not mean that the indigenous traits are totally absent. We do

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find native *kūjas*, spouted vessels, miniature or storage pots and mugs resembling the metal tankards of the Kashmiris. The Buddhist monks and ascetics used bowls, *kūjas* and spouted vessels suggestive of their religious use. Similarly, in other household objects also one can see foreign elements like the *kylix*, Iranian baskets, Śāka-Parthian toilet trays etc. While the indigenous traits are perceivable in the articles like fans, mirrors, caskets, razors, etc., the leaning is more towards the Hellenistic influence in the material culture under study.

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   Zimmer considers that they were settled in Vedic times on the southern bank of the *Kupha* upto its mouth in the Indus and for some distance down the east-side of the Indus itself. They later formed part of the Persian Empire (*Altindish Leben*, pp. 30-31).
2. Harold Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, (New York, 1957), p. 13. To the north, the east and the west Gandhāra is hemmed in by tall mountains, but to the south the flat Indus Valley spreads out for some seven hundred miles until it reaches the Indian ocean. See also John Marshall : *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 1.
3. C. Middle of second century B.C.
4. Early first century B.C.
5. Later half of the first century B.C.
6. C. first century B.C.
7. Later half of the first century B.C.
8. Middle of second century B.C. onwards.
9. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, p. 42.
10. Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 69, 123, XX. 1 and Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 86, fig. 121; Pl. 53, fig. 77.
11. S.B. Deo, '*Pots and utensils from Jaina literature*', *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. XIV (June, 1952), No. 1, p. 41. In Jain literature, bowls *Padiggha* are mentioned in different context.
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14. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum* (Madras, 1956), Pl. V, fig. 26; James Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* (London, 1887), Pl. XV, 2, XVI, 2.
15. K.Krishna Murthy, *Life under the Ikshvākus as depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures*, Ph. D. Thesis, Nagpur University, 1969 (unpublished) pp. 421-422.
16. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 14, fig. 16.
17. Oskar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, (London, 1957), p. 685, figs. 1-2.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 685.
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23. Cook, *Op. cit.*, p. 239.
24. Seyffert, *Op. cit.*, fig. 1, 10, 13-15.
25. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 24, fig. 29; Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 422.
26. For comparison, see Seyffert, *Op. cit.*, fig. 1, 12.
27. Cook, *Op. cit.*, p. 218.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
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30. Sivaramamurti, *Op. cit.*, Pl. V.20, Burgess, *Op. cit.*, XVI.2, for Amarāvati; Krishnamurthy, *Op. cit.*, pp. 435-37.
31. J. Aubyer, Ancient Indian Ivories from Begram, Afghanistan, *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIV (1948), Pl. IX, Nos. 65-69.
32. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 27, fig. 40, Pl. 28 fig. 42 and Pl. 56. fig. 83; Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, IV. 1.
33. Compare, Seyffert, *Op. cit.*, fig. 9.
34. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 56, fig. 83.
35. Seyffert, *Op. cit.*, p. 686a.
36. Krishnamurthy, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XII, 17.
37. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 27, fig. 40.
38. *Ibid.*, Pl. 31, fig. 49.
39. Seyffert, *Op. cit.*, p. 30: fig. 2, a, b.
40. Cook, *Op. cit.*, p. 220; cf. Pls. 3a, b; 21, a, b; 22, a; 34a; 54.
41. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, p. 34, fig. 54, Pl. 22, fig. 25, Pl. 71, fig. 101, Pl. 81, fig. III, Pl. 89, fig. 124, Pl. 103, fig. 142, Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 289, 290 etc.

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45. Buggess, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII-2.
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100. A staff carried by Dionysus and his attendants, and wreathed with Ivy and vine-leaves, terminating at the top in a pine-cone (Seyffert, *Op. cit.*, p. 636-b).

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9

Conveyances

Generally, the conveyance are of two kinds, namely, those for land transport such as horses, elephants, camels, mules etc. and wheeled vehicles like carts, carriages and others for water transport, like boats etc.

The conveyances represented in the Gandhāra reliefs, though scanty, include both the means of transport namely, the land and the water.

LAND TRANSPORT

The means of land transport illustrated in the reliefs include : (I) beasts of burden, such as, (a) horses, (b) elephants, (c) camels and (d) rams as also; (II) wheeled vehicles like carts, carriages and waggons.

I. *Beasts of Burden*

(a) *Horses*

Among the beasts of burden used as a mode of transport, the horse is important. The Gandhāra Sculptures reveal it as being used for both riding and pulling the carts and carriages. However, the usage of the horse for riding appeared to be more common than for the other use.

Horse riding appeared to be very popular among the Gandhāras. The reliefs depict the horse riders very frequently. The princes, and the soldiers are shown in the reliefs riding the horse. The horse Kanthaka is represented in the reliefs[1] six times. As it would appear

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from the sculptural representations of the horses at Gandhāra, they seem to be of excellent breed and were probably of central Asian and Persian origin. In two instances[2], the reliefs depict Sassanian and Parthian horses which are robust and of excellent breed.

However, the effective use of the horse as a riding-animal was largely developed by the nomadic people of the steppelands of Asia during the last millennium B.C.[3] In Greek, by 8th century B.C., the horse-riding was a developed art as is evident from the recorded evidence on the vases. In classical times cavalry had superseded chariotry as an instrument of war. At Gandhāra, the horse-riding possibly came with the Persians and Greeks.

The horses revealed in the reliefs are having rich trappings. The panel[4] illustrating '*Viśvantara Jātaka*" illustrating two well caparisoned horses pulling the carriage. The horse has trellised saddle (*parayāṇa*). The saddle[5] could have been a piece of cloth probably stuffed or of leather. The bridle consists of a thin strap, presumably of leather and include a forehead band, check-piece and nose-band. The rein is simple and plain and appears to have been knotted or sewed on to the bit[6].

Apart from the saddle and the bridle, the horse is further embellished with a breast band (*kakṣya*) and another similar band at the back passing from round the tail. Near the front line of the saddle and in the side bands are to be seen the decorations of huge rosetteshaped bosses called *chakrakas*. A fly-whisk or yak-tail crest is adorning the creat of the head of the animal. The mane is not hacked as seen in the cases of Assyrian horses. One note worthy feature, however, is that from the breast-band slings a row of little figurines just like toy-figurines of deer facing front (*Fig. XXI, 1*). These are possibly *lavaṇakalāyi* mentioned by Bāṇa. Sivaramamurti takes them only as decorative pieces. Agarwala[7] is of the opinion that this word *lavaṇa-kalāyi* is perhaps originally Sassanian and borrowed in a corrupt form into sanskrit.

Similar decorations of *lavaṇa-kalāyi* occur at Amarāvati[8] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[9], cave paintings at Ajanta[10] and on the Gupta coins[11].

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That the horses were used for drawing carriage or waggons can also be known from the panels[12] revealing "Māyā and Siddhārtha to Kapilavastu" and an unidentified panel. In all the cases two horse are seen pulling the carts. The horses drawing the carriages and carts are also met with in the sculptures of Sanchi[13], Amarāvati[14], caves of Bhāja[16], Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[16] and Ajanta[17].

An idea of a royal horse stable of the period under review can be had from the relief[18] illustrating 'Birth of Chandaka and Kanthaka. Here the mother of Chandaka is giving milk to her foal while she herself receives a branmash from the hand of a royal groom. The entire scene is a realistic picturisation of the proceeding in a royal stable of horses.

(b) *Elephant*

Elephant appears in the reliefs as a state elephant in royal processions. It was one of the symbols of sovereignty and was therefore, mostly favoured by the kings in ancient times.

In one panel[19] a state elephant is depicted. The housing of the elephant consists of a thick padding. It is secured by means of a strong rope from which a bell-clapper slings. As the elephant moved gaily the bell-rang. Similar example are met with in the sculptures of Amarāvati[20] and Goli[21]. Again, the forehead of the elephant is decorated with a strand of pearls or beads. A noteworthy feature is the presence of a *howdah*[22]. The legs, the exquisite decoration of the exterior of the *howdah* with floral design is clearly visible (*Fig. XXI, 2*).

In another panel[23] depicting 'Transportation of the Relics, a State elephant, is shown carrying a chief on its back. The chief is in the act of transporting the relics of the Buddha. The *howdah* on which the chief is seated is clearly sculptured. The *howdah* is shown secured by means of a rope.

A well caparisoned elephant is however, met with in the relief[24] depicting 'Mounted elephant plucking lotus'. The forehead of the elephant is exquisitely ornamented with strap docked with beads or

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pearls. At the intervals can be seen *chakras*. The *mukha paṭṭi* is well garnished and extends even to the trunk of the elephant (*Fig. XXI, 3*). This richly caparisoned elephant bears witness to the importance of that powerful creature in the region even in the ancient times.

(c) *Camel*

The camel as being used for riding in royal processions or for transporting objects like relics etc. occurs in the reliefs more than once. Two panels[25] depicting 'Transportation of Relics,' reveal camel with its rider.

The camels that appear in the relief are one of Bactria camels[26]. They are mounted as if on horse back as in likewise the case in palmyra[27]. They belong to two-humped species. Similar two-humped camels are available at present in Sahāra desert. In India, only, single humped camel can be seen in the Great Indian desert. Evidently, the camels depicted in the reliefs are of foreign origin : Gandhāra and Bactria[28].

(d) *Rams*

Ram also appears in the reliefs as being used for riding[29]. and pulling the cart[30]. The panel depicting "Siddhārtha Rides to School" occurs more than once in the reliefs. The briddle, the saddle, the breast-band, the side band with *chakras* are clearly sculptured. The trapping of the ram is simple and plain.

In another instance[31] two rams are shown pulling a cart (*Fig. XXI, 4*). This incidentally throws light on the practice of using the rams for pulling carts by the Gandhāras. The two rams shown pulling the cart have been provided with trapping. It consists briddle decorated with *chakras* on its side band. The child Siddhārtha is shown sitting in the cart pulled by these two rams. He is going to the school along with his school mates.

II. *Wheeled Vehicles*

The wheeled vehicles, illustrated, in the reliefs include cart and chariots. The carts were used for short journeys or joyrides[32] and chariots were used for royal processions and wars.

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(a) *Bullock cart*

The bullock cart (*Go-ratha*) is perhaps the oldest and commonest wheeled vehicle known in India as also to the Gandhāras. An excellent example of a bullock cart comes from the panel illustrating "Two Merchants Offer Good To Buddha"[33]. The bullock cart depicted in this panel consist of a box-like frame mounted on wheels having lotus-patal-shaped spokes. It is covered with a vaulted roof of bamboo work for protecting the occupants from Sun and rain. The covering is raised over the body frame itself with an opening in the front and back.

The components of the cart[34], the wheel (*Cakra*), the spoke (*Ara*), the rim (*Nemi*), axle (*Akṣa*), axle-pin (*Āṇi*) etc. are distinctly visible. The exterior of the covering is seen decorated with check pattern (*Fig. XXII, 5*).

Similar type of carts can be seen in the sculptures of Sanchi,[35] Barhūt,[36] Amarāvati,[37] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[38] and Goli[39](?) At Sanchi, the merchants Trapasu and Bhalla are shown with a cart exactly similar to the one noticed at Amarāvati. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the cart has an opening both at the rear and the front as at Gandhāra, Amarāvati and Goli. Thus, one can see the continuation of the basic form of the bullock cart through all the phases of Indian Art. It is interesting to note that the modern carts have not undergone much change.[40]

(b) *Chariots*

Excellent representations of a chariot comes from an unidentified panel.[41] It also contains box-like frame mounted on a set of two wheels having lotus-petal-shaped spokes. The exterior of the box frame is decorated with a criss-cross pattern. From the rear end of the box frame raises a curved top probably meant for giving shade to the occupants of the chariots (*Fig. XXII, 6*). However, the other details, such as, the pole of the car (*Ratha-īśā*)[42], the yoke (*yoga*) to which the two horses are tied are not visible. Only two horses are shown in front of the chariot.

Another example of a royal chariot is met with, in the panel[43] illustrating the "*Viśvantara Jataka*". In this case the chariot is partly

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visible. Two horses are shown pulling the chariot. Two horses and the front portion of the box-frame of the chariot are visible. The box-frame is latticed. The bridles of the horses are shown held by the driver of the chariot with his left hand, while his right hand is seen holding possibly a whip high to urge the animals (*Fig. XXII, 7*).

The chariots found in the Gandhāra reliefs have similarities to those found in Sanchi,[44] Bodhgaya[45] and the chariot depicted in Rameses III at Thebes.[46]

(c) *Ram-car*[47]

The ram-car occurs only once in the whole range of Gandhāra reliefs.[48] It is a single seater, where Siddhārtha is shown going to the school. Evidently, this car is meant for short distances. The body-frame of this car is mounted on two wheels. It has an opening in the front as shown in the illustration without any top. It has a latticed design. The pole of the car (*ratha-iśa*) is fastened to the body of the car and to the double, yoke (*yuga*) that is tied horizontally to the pole of the car. Actually, the yoke is made to rest on the napes of the rams. Presumably the yoke and the pole have been fastened (*chakra-bandha* or *rathabandha*) with a leather strap (*Fig. XXI, 4*).

(d) *Litter or Palanquin (Śibikā)*

It is twice represented in the reliefs. In the panel[49] representing "Bridal Procession", Yaśodhara is shown riding in a litter, carried by two bearers. In another panel[50] illustrating "Māyā and Siddhārtha Return to Kapilavastu", Māyā appears as being carried in a litter or palanquin carried by four men (*Fig. XXII, 8*). In both the examples, the litter is in the shape of a trefoil arch. This practice of using the litter or palanquins for bridal processions, among the nobility still survives in some of the rural area s in India.

However, a different variety is met with in another instance.[51] It resembles a covered cart with vaulted roof. In this case the long horizontal poles meant to be borne by the palanquin bearers on shoulders are absent, instead four small verticle sticks have been provided.

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WATER TRANSPORT

Although the reliefs do not depict any boat or other devices as a means of water transport, the depiction of sea or river deities in one of the panels[52] with broad bladed boat paddle (*Fig. XXII, 9* (such as one which can be still seen in use in Kashmir), indirectly establishes the presence of a boat in the Gandhāra region under study.

CONCLUSION

As it can be seen from the sculptural representions, the Gandhāras were in the know of many conveyances to go about. Apart from the horses, elephants, camels and rams were also used for riding. As for the wheeled vehicles, besides the carts, carriages and waggons drawn by bullocks and horses, the ram carts also constituted an important vein of conveances. However, the indirect evidence of the prevalence of the boats during the priod under study cannot be ruled out.

REFERENCES

1. Herald Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957; 49, 51, 45, 148, and Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge, 1960, Pl. 84, fig. 119.
2. Herald Ingholt, *Lac. cit.*, XXIII, I and XIII, 4.
3. Singer, *History of Technology*, Vol. I, p. 555.
4. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 93, fig. 130.
5. The horse cloth or saddle originally appeared to be on animal-skin and was used by the Scythians somewhere in 6th to 3rd century B.C. However, the saddle can be seen only on the chertomlyk vase of the 4th cent. B.C. Bare back riding was common in Greek. As early as in 9th cent. B.C., Assyrians used horse-cloth. It had become a usual part of Greek soldier's equipment by the 4th cent. B.C. It was in general use in Rome from 1st cent. B.C. There is no evidence that the Romans used padded saddles until the fourth cent. A.D. (Singer, *Op. cit.*, p. 556).

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6. The earlier snaffle-bit had two links. The unique of the three link bit was used by Greeks and became common among the celts. Check-pieces, nose-bands and check straps were introduced in Assyria (Singer, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 523) whence the Greeks took them. Cf., also Sanchi specimen. See also Xenophon on the Art of Horsemanship, X, 8, 11 (Locbed, *Scripta minora*, p. 348 ff, 1925).
7. V.S. Agarwala, *A Note Lavaṇakalāyi*, *IC*, Vol. XII, No. 1-44, pp. 33-35. Also see V.S. Agrawala's book, '*The Deeds of Harṣa* (*Being a cultural study of Bāṇa's Harṣa Carita*) (Varanasi, 1969, p. 176, fig. 69).
8. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent worship*, (London, 1868), Pl. LXVII.
9. Krishnamurthy, *Op. cit.*, fig. XIV. 2.
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11. Allan, *Gupta coins*, Pl. IX, 17, XII, 13, 14.
12. Herald Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 17 and 174.
13. Zimmer, Heinrich, The *Art of Indian Asia* : *its Mythology and transformations*; (New York), Vol. 2, 9, 7.
14. Sivaramamurthi, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, Madras, (1956), Pl. X, 13.
15. Zimmer, *Op. cit.*, 41.
16. Krishnamurthy, *Op. cit.*, p. 677.
17. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhārat Ki Paṭha Paddati*, (Patna, 1953), fig. 29, 30.
18. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 72, fig. 104.
19. Herald Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 26, also see Hargreves, *ASI*, 1924-26, Pl. XLVIII b.
20. Sivaramamurti, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XI, fig. II.
21. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli*, Madras, 1929, Pls. III, I, IV.
22. Cf. *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1909-10, Pl. 18e: In the Mahābhārata similar boxes are mentioned as *Yantra*, *hasti-mañca*. (vide *Mahābhārata Sabha*; 38, p. 89 (Gīta Press Ed.); *Jaiminyaśvamedha*, 30, 14.
23. Herald Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 149, Cf. Foucher, *L'Art grecobouddhique du Gandhara*, I, Paris, 1905, fig. 29, d-e.
24. *Ibid.*, 450, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 217-18.
25. *Ibid.*, 145, 150.
26. The double humped Bactrian variety is also sculptured at *Sanchi* (vide Marshall, Sanchi, Pls. 47, 48, 86, 66c. Vide also N.P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, (*Material civilization of North India from C. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300 as revealed by sculptures, Terracottas and coins*), Lucknow, 1967, p. 9, fig. 28.
27. Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, 1936, p. 119, Pl. XXIV, 2.
28. The Persians also used the dromedary and the camel for riding and packs (Forbes, R.J. "The coming of Camels" in "Studies in Ancient Technology". In late Neolithic times the camel was domesticated in central Asia and the

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Dromedary in Arabia. The Egyptians knew the dremedary from the predynastic period. The camel transport grew in Persian times from 5th cent. B.C. onwards. The Balmyra and Petre were the two great desert emporia at that time. The Palmyra flourished in Persian times but declined in Hellinistic times. By 1st cent. A.D. the Romans and Parthians fully recognised the importance of desert trade and camel transport (See Singer and others, *A History of Technology*, Vol. II, p. 497).

29. Herald Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 23. See also Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07, pp. 109-10, Pl. XXXI, Hargreaves, *JRAS*, 1951, pp. 131-33, Pl. IV. I, Aurelstein, *ASI*, 1911-12, Pl. 105, Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 5.
30. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 66, fig. 95.
31. *Ibid.*, Pl. 66, fig. 95.
32. The *Mṛchchakṭika* refers to such roofed (*apavārita*) carts (Act. VI, p. 141).
33. Vide P.K. Gode, "The Indian Bullock-cart; its prehistoric and vedic ancestors", *PO*, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 144-151.
34. For the different parts of the chariots. See Macdonell and Keith, *Op. cit.*, pp. 201.
35. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, 1, XIX, c. 3.
36. Sivaramamurti, *Op. cit.*, Pl. LXIII, fig. 5-c, X, fig. 19.
37. Barua, *Op. cit.*, Pl. LXIX, fig. 86.
38. Krishnamurthy, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XII, 4.
39. Ramachandran, *Op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), Pl. V-c, 2.
40. However, bullock carts have a long history, It is said about the primitive vehicle that "the earliest type of vehicle was the sledge having no wheels and mounted on runners. Form the sledge was evolved a rude cart with wheels made of wooden discs. Such carts are still to be seen in Spain, Portugal, Mexico drawn by a pair of Yakedoxen". About 1500 B.C. we find the Egyptian two wheeled chariot in a high state of perfection while the chariots of Assyrians, Greeks and Romans were the first carriages known to us. (For greater details of Egyptian chariots see Wilkinson, J.G., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, (London, 1836), Vol. I, p. 67, p. 342f.
41. Herald Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 174.
42. Hopkins, *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 235ff.
43. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 93, fig. 130.
44. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XV.
45. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XVII, fig. 61 (London, 1927).
46. R.E. Oakeshoot, *The Archaeology Weapons*, pp. 62-63, fig. 31 (London, 1960).
47. This vehicle also comes under variety discussed earlier since this car is drawn by two rams instead of horses, it has been dealt separately.

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48. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 66, fig. 95.
49. Herald Ingholt, *Op. cit.*, 34 or 35.
50. *Ibid.*, 148, Cf. John Bingham, *A Collection of Gandhara Sculpture*, No. XIII.
51. Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique*, fig. 160.
52. Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 30, fig. 47.

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10

Mini-Dresses of the Ajanta Ladies

It is the fashion of the day among some women folk to appear in mini-dresses. It is believed to be an imperceptible step towards the advancement of civilization, for one, to appear in mini-dress. It is postulated to be a new invention. But, if only one cares to turn the pages of the past history or to see what has been immortalised in the form of plastic art, it becomes apparent that the so called fashions of the day are nothing but the retrieval or the copy of the older ones. The modern generation is left in indebtedness to the ancient who were the precursors of all what we find today. The Ajanta ladies come forward foremost to offer us a variety of the mini-dresses known to them. A few of them are described below.

Fig. XXIII, 1

The damsel reveals an interesting mini-dress. She wears a small piece of apparel round her waist. It ends well over the thighs. Except this *adhovastra* the entire person is left bare. The adhovastra is embellished with multiple rows of studs or pearls. The *keśapāśa* with loose knot resembling the *pushpaguccha* hair style and her exuberant ornamentation such as the *mastakā bharaṇa*, the *mṛshṭa kuṇḍalas*, the *ekāvalī*, the *kaṇṭhi* with central colete, the *keyūras* and the *prakoṣṭha-valayas* enrich her feminine grace.

Fig. XXIII, 2

A princess from Ajanta has different item of mini-dress to display. As for the lower person she wears an *antarīya* which is tied

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round her waist below the *nīvi*. The *antarīya* decorated with alternative bands extends upto the knees. It heralds the modern Burmese style of sari-wearing. In addition to the *antarīya*, the princess, also wears a jacket (*kūrupāsaka*). The lowered sleeves and the short length of the bodies have very close semblance to the jacket worn by the present day ladies.

In this connection it is significant to note that garments for the breasts are referred in the Kharoshṭi documents from Chinese Turkestan. The terms *kanchui*, *kamjuiya* undoubtedly refer to bodice or jacket worn by the ladies to cover their upper person. Interestingly the central Asian paintings also reveal the use of such a dress by the ladies. In this case the Iranian hairstyle, the *Karṇabhūshaṇaṁs*; the necklace, the beaded *kaṇṭhi* and *keyūra* are additional charms to her feminine beauty.

Fig. XXIII, 3

A fan-bearer offers another set of mini-dress. As usual she wears an *antarīya* as her lower garment. It is just a piece of cloth presumably a bordered one and tied simply round the latter's waist. In the former's case, again the lower garment appears to be a sewed garment. It ends well over the knees. What interests us here is the presence of the breast-band (*stanapaṭṭika* or *stanāṁśuka*). This could have very well been the fore runner of the present day brassaries. In one case the knot of the *stana paṭṭika* can also seen. In Fig. XXIII, 4, the upper garment *stanottarīya* is also added as one of the items of the mini-dress.

Fig. XXIII, 4

A listner from Ajanta deviates in her mini-dress from others. She wears a *sari*, one end of which is tecked at the back near the neck to a hole intended for it. The *sari* covers the upper person and extends upto the thighs. The border is decorated with two alternative strips or bands. This is a new type of mini-dress resembling the modern apron. It also heralds the *sari* worn to this day by some

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community ladies of the Kerala State. The roundish bun, her hair-style is benefitting to her dress. It is interesting to note that the "*bun*" as a hair-style was introduced into India as early as the 1st Cent. B.C. It was extremely common in Hellenistic Greece and Roman Empire. Probably owing to the trade contacts that India had with outside world, this particular style was introduced into India some time about 1st Cent. B.C. This became common coiffure in Amarāvati sculptures in the early centuries of the Christian era. It continued to enjoy its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. This hair-style is present at Mathura, Gandhāra and reaches the zenith of its popularity in Gupta-Vākāṭaka period; hence its presence in the Ajanta paintings.

Fig. XXIII, 5

The lady wears a *jaghanāṁśuka*. It extends upto the knees. The designs over the dress reflects the artistic adroitness of the weaver of the day.

Fig. XXIII, 6

The mini-dress of a male can be seen in this figure. His mini-dress constitutes an *adhovastra* and a *uttariya*. Interestingly his loin-cloth is worn in hasti *saundika* style in which according to the *aṭṭhakatha* the pleated end was more to fall down in the same way as the pleated end of the *saris* of the women of the chola country, in the *matsyavalka style* (The long and short borders were pleated in the shape of a fish-tail).

Evolution of Dress

The dress of the Indians particularly of women have undergone through several stages of evolution before it reached the shape of what we find it today. The first dress of the Indian seems to have consisted of leaves and grasses matted together and being round the waist. There are references in the Vedic texts, to the wife of a sacrificer putting on a *kusa* garment (*Śat. Brāh.* V, 2, 1, 8, *Taitt saṁ.* VI, 1, 9,

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7, 11, 2, Eh). In *Vinaya* texts we have mention of garments made of grass and leaves, *phalaka* (*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 28, 2).

In the next stage *valkala* was used for the purpose of clothing. In the third stage we meet with fully developed garments. The Sanskrit literature abounds with sartorial terms. Some of the terms for ladies dress are as below :

1. Lower garments : *ambara, antarīya, jaghanāṁśuka, Sauli* etc.
2. Bodics or jacket : *kañcīka, kūrpāsaka* etc.
3. Breast Band : *stanapaṭṭi, stanāṁśuka* etc.
4. Upper garment : *uttarāsaṇga, samvyāna, stanottarīya* etc.
5. Veil : *avaguṇthana mukhapaṭa, Sirovastra yavanika* etc.

However, for studying the history of Indian constumes we have to turn to sculptures and bas-reliefs. One can see distinctly the gradual evolution of dress in the lithographic delineation of the early Indian sculptures.

Origin of Sari

There is a wide-spread belief that the *Sari* of today has a hoary antiquity. It is true the word for *Sari* occurs in very ancient texts, but the word used there meant a very different garments from that worn today.

In Mahābhārata we find the word *Sari* in the poignant description. The *sari* worn by Draupadī could not have been that as we know it today. She wore a *sari* covering her hips, thrown over one shoulder and allowed to take back over the other. There is not the remotest doubt that Draupadī wore a small piece of cloth, called *sari*, wrapped round her waist only and no upper garment and when the *sari* was snatched from her, it was indeed a shameful act of male brutality. That kind of *sari* could perhaps best be called a dhoti or even a *saong*, a Malay word presumably borrowed from Sanskrit and given typical Malay ending *-ong*.

Again as early as in the Kharoṣṭhi documents we get parallels to *sari*. A word radi or Hindi sadi occurs in the documents.

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As for the sculptural evidence is concerned, the earliest representation of the *sari* seems to appear in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the 3rd Cent. A.D. The princes Devagabbha portrayed in the panel illustrating Ghaṭa jātaka seems to have worn *sari*. Her whole body is covered with *sari*. If this identification is correct, this will be the earliest example of *sari* represented in the Indian sculptures. However, the identification of the costume is not completely free from doubt as it may also simply be an upper garment, *stanottarīya* fully covering the front portion of the upper person.

Modesty in Female Dresses

The early sculptures of Pauni, Barhūt, Sanchi, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc., and paintings of Ajanta depict women almost in mini-dresses and in many cases with their upper persona left bare. However this nudity in sculptures need not reflect immodesty on the part of the women of those times. Modesty differs in time and space. Its manifestations are of most fluctuating and protean character. The actual manifestation of modesty appears indeed to be entirely a matter of habit, and convention. The nudity seen in the early sculptures, hence, may be due to the artistic convention of the age or it might be that the persons may be wearing a thin piece of cloth which is hard to see with naked eyes in the sculptures or paintings.

However, in ancient times dress was very much valued. The persons were delineated in mini-dresses because that type of dresses was considered to be the fashion of the day. It was regarded as a sign of civilization. Indeed as Flugel puts it "Dress is a sign of rank, occupation and locality". It is only for the present generation to look back as to how far they are indebted to their ancestors in the matter of mini-dresses. The ancients already knew the usage of mini-dresses, and as such there is nothing to boast of the present day mini-dresses.

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11

A Masterpiece Sculpture of Nagarjunakonda

The verdict of the sooth-sayers that the peerless son of Śuddhodana would be either a Chakravarti or a Buddha, entailed perpetual anxiety in Śuddhodana, to know the reason that would make his son resort to an ascetic life forsaking earthly pleasure. The answer was four ominous sights : a decrepit man, a sick or valetudinary man, a corpse and a monk. He took immediately all precautions to ensure that none of these sights would meet his son's eyes. He swerved his son's mind always towards terrestrial luxuriousness. At the age of sixteen Siddhārtha was married to a beautious Koyila princess Yaśodhara who bore him a son Rāhula by name. Thus, observant of the prophecy regarding the future, his father always placed him afar from those four sights which might inspire him to adapt a life of a recluse. Albeit the care taken by him, he could not be successful in his attempt. On consecutive occassions, when he was strolling in a chariot with his devoted charioteer Chanda, he scanned those four sights.

Stupified, he enquired as to their meaning the Chanda gave him the true picture of dotage, malady and demise. Later, he saw the fourth sight of a holy and happy ascetic and this sight made an indelible mark in his mind and showed him how an ascetic could be above all the evils he witnessed.

In the dead of night, he called Chanda and asked him to saddle his horse. He bade farewell to his sleeping wife and son and bestrode the gigantic white steek Kanthaka and ordered Chanda to escort him. Thus, it was on full moon day of Aṣhāḍha that prince Siddhārtha,

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who ought to have been a king, became a mendicant and left the city gates of Kapilavastu. After crossing the river Anoma, he gave all his ornaments to Chanda and cut off his hair and cast it along with jewelled turban in the air and declared "If I am destined to become Buddha let it stand in the air if not let it come down on the ground". The hair and the turban, thus thrown, did not come down but were carried by the thirty three gods to the heaven. Then Gautama exchanged the garments with the angel Ghatikara who was in the disguise of a poor hunter. He turned towards Chanda and asked him to return to Kapilavastu with a message that the emperor Śuddhodana's son had taken an ascetic life in search of truth.

Thus, bidden by Siddārtha to go back with his salutations to his parents, the sad Chanda returned with the grief-stricken horse to king Śuddhodana. The bas-relief from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*Plate I*) depicts this moment. The groom is shown kneeling at the feet of Śuddhodana and narrating the melancholy news of Śiddhārtha's renunciation. The news was so alarming that Śuddhodana could not restrain himself and turned his head away in distress, the right hand on the forehead in the characteristic gesture of bemoaning his fate. Behind is the horse represented in utter despair, with its neck drooping, and apparently moaning over its master's departure. On hearing the news, Yaśodhara is shown collapsing by the side of the steed, outstretched hands holding the neck of the maid servant to get a support. Two other attendant women stand behind her with grief stricken faces. At the extreme right is an arched entrance against which stands an amazon guard with sword in hand.

This relief is a masterpiece among the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and is typical of Āndhra art, impeccably portrayed, and full of life. The realism of the artist is admirable. The delineation of the lamenting Chanda kneeling before the desolate king, and the courser Kanthaka looking disconsolate and laying its head at the feet of its remorse striken mistress Yaśodhara is done with admirable skill. The entire atmosphere is endowed with devastating grief.

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12

Doctrine of Madhu Bindu

Avalambya taromūlaṁ
Khādataṁ mūśhakam purah
Āsī visha madho nāgam
Karśhantaṁ vṛikṣha māsritaṁ

Sarva metad paśyantaṁ
Kintu trptaṁ madhusnavān
madhu bindu chalānnūnaṁ
mocayāmi naraṁ śiśuṁ.

I want to set free the child like man from the deceit of madhu bindu or honey drop by taking which man is seemingly gratified and does not behold the whole catastrophe of the elephant pulling away his resort, of the poisonous snake below, of the rat gnawing away the roots of the tree which are the support of the man.

The born soul or *jīva* in its physical embodiments gets into the gamut of life ignorant of pros and cons. He starts off, unmindful of understanding his past or worrying about the future, propelled and projected, as it were, by nature. It is as if he is clinging to the aerial roots of a huge tree.

Below his feet is the hollow of a deep ditch from out of which a poisonous serpent extends its fangs in an attempt to drag him down into the ditch. The *jīva* is not aware of it, yet nature comes to his aid and a sixth sense prevails! He involuntarily recoils his legs just out of the reach of the horrible serpent. Although he is covered by oblivion, the first below it somehow averted.

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This is not all. Besides the peril from the snake, a rat is gnawing away the roots, his only support. As though this is not adequate *dukha* (misery) for the *jīva*, a mighty, ferrocious elephant rushes to the place and pulls at the tree with such mad impulse that it looks as though the tree along with the *jīva* clinging to its roots would be wiped off the scene.

Still, the *jīva* in his state of oblivion heeds not the peril either from the rat or from the elephant. His ignorance is such that he knows neither the peril nor the means to get out of it. The only thing he knows is to hold firmly the roots of the tree and hang on. This volition could be called the *jigjñasa* of the philosopher. The metaphysist would like to call it the sixth sense, which every being possesses.

It so happens that there is a beehive built on the top of the tree and the violent pull from the elephant disturbs it. Some of the bees that are shot out many, perhaps give the *jīva* a painful sting. Yet the situation has a pleasant side also in that, a few honey drops fallout and reach the *jīva*. He relished the taste and in the intoxication of it forgets his plight and peril. More than that the *jīva*, who has this momentary pleasure yearns for its continuation, though it means his hanging in the void for eternity with the perils of the poisonous snake below, the biting rat near his hands and the mighty elephant shaking the very tree which gives him shelter.

The poet describes that effect as *chala* or illusion on the part of the *jīva*, who is compared to a *sisu* or a child, who is oblivious of pros and cons and is supremely happy with the momentary feed represented here by the drops of *madhu*.

The mission of a philosopher is to find a way out for *jīva's* illusory state and liberate him from the perils. The *jīva* should realise the misery of birth and *shiva* for birthlessness.

Interpretation of the firm hold of the *jīva* in this illustration differs from faith to faith. It is *guru* in one case, *bhakti* in another, love in the third, *karuṇa* in the fourth, *ahimsa* in the fifth and so on.

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It is in short, *sankhya jigñasa*, which the Buddhist share. The hat of oblivion that has protected him from awareness of his births is what the *advaitins* call *māya* and what the westerners call meto-psychosist.

This philosophical doctrine gets a lithiographic delieneation impeccably at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The valley Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which was hallowed by the name of the celebrated Āchārya Nāgārjuna who propounded the theory of the Mahāyāna School of Mādhyamika philosophical and theological doctrines for portrayal within three dimensions in the sculptures. Nāgārjuna's philosophy is Mādhyamika and Mahāyāna is concentration on the middle path. The middle path is the path between the two extremes (obstinance and indulgence) which would be the most acceptable to both the serious and curious types of humanity. The sculptor at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa had adopted sufficient ingenuity in accepting the philosophical and theological doctrine for the portrayal in realism. One such doctrine that gets portrayal at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is the doctrine of *madhu bindu* adopted by every Indian school of thought. The *Upaniṣhads*, the *kapilas*, the *Mīmāṁsakas*, the *Yogini*, the *Śaivas*, the *Purāṇikas*, the *Bhagavats* and the Jainas and Buddhists propounded this doctrine to establish their truth.

Interestingly, two friezes at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa illustrate this doctrine. It is perhaps first of its kind in Indian art to render the philosophical doctrine into the sculptural delineation. One comes from the *āyaka* frieze of the Stupa No. 9 and other Mahāchaitya. This doctrine is illustrated in the panel, depicted according to the narrative method in the panel. The portrayal is in the vertical order (*Plate II*). Studying from bottom to above, we find first, a deep well like cavity within which we notice a serpent with huge wide opened mouth ready to swallow the child hanging from the roots of a tree. The child has recoiled his legs to keep them away from the serpent's reach. Above, the child can be seen holding to the roots of the tree. Very near his hold can be seen a rat nibbling at the roots. Simultaneously, an elephant is shown pulling with effort at the same spot of the tree as though to uproot the tree. The extended trunk of the

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elephant and its twisted tail suggest that the elephant is putting up its maximum strength in the attempt. The top most part presents the beehives which are supposed to yield *madhu* for the child like *jīva's* gratification.

Thus, the dexterous Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptor amazingly succeeded in transmuting the doctrine of *madhu-bindu* on stone.

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13

Rare Amaravati Sculptures

The temple of Amareśvara at Amarāvati which was built in the ninth century A.D. during the reign of Chāluka Bhīma has been renovated by the Religious Endowments Department, Āndhra Pradesh. During their renovation work, quite a good number of *stūpa* slabs, apparently belonging to the Amarāvati *stūpa*, came to light. The sculptures discovered are of national importance and to a considerable extent give the missing links for the Amarāvati Site Museum. These sculptural fragments have been utilized in the construction of the temple walls, foundations and in many other components of the temple.

The sculptures, stylistically and otherwise, can be datable to 1st-2nd centuries A.D. There is an interesting panel depicting scenes from Buddha's life (*Plate III*). The panel starts off with the depiction of the Great Renunciation. Gautama is shown riding Kaṇṭaka leaving the city-gate of Kapilavastu. *Devatas*, who were only waiting for that opportunity, saw to it that no disturbance was caused for this Great Departure and hence, they are holding up the hooves of the horse so that they might not make any noise. The horse Kaṇṭaka is being led by the groom, Channa, who is wearing a full sleeved tunic, which can be identified as the *chīancholaka* type of garment. This garment is of Central Asian origin. The Gods are shown in a dancing posture before the horse in rejoicing. The second scene of the panel is very interesting and significant. Kaṇṭaka is shown kneeling in adoration. It is bowing to the *Buddha pāda* which is kept on the *pādapīṭah* near the throne. In Buddhist art, this lithic representation is very rare and probably it does not occur anywhere else. The throne and the

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Buddhapāda are symbolically represented for the Buddha after his enlightenment. Kaṇṭaka is well trellised. The throne has *āmalaka* shaped legs. In between these panels are carved a *mithuna* couples and a lotus medallions. However, the lotus medallions are mutilated and hence their details are not clear. The *mithuna* couples are shown indulging in dalliance. The *antarīya* secured by means of the *kamara-bandha* is clearly extant. The *keyūras* of the lady are also extant. The artist has introduced the *mithuna* couple in between this panel is perhaps to indicate that it is not the life which is expected to be led and that in contrast, real life is that which Gautama is leading *i.e.* in the search of truth. Another interpretation could be that, after seeing the serious scenes of the life of the prince who is going to lead the life of recluse, the eye needs a sort of relief. Hence, the artist introduced *mithuna* couples in between these panels.

Another sculpture which is worth mentioning is the *stūpa* slab which depicts the farewell of Gautama to his family. Yaśhodara with her child, Rāhula, is shown fast asleep, while Gautama is shown holding the tiny hand of his son Rāhula in token of bidding farewell to him as he has to leave the house to lead the life of a recluse. The scene is very touching as Gautama is taking leave of his family which is fast asleep. As it was night, probably Channa is shown with a *yashṭi deepa* (*kāgaḍa*) in his hands to show light to Gautama. The whole scene is pathetic and very impeccably portrayed. The mansion is clearly depicted. One can make out the pillars supporting the mansion and the *chaitya* windows *i.e. kapota pālikas* over them. Immediately over it are seen two devotees sitting in *añjali* and watching the proceedings. This again is a very rare sculpture that could be seen neither at Amarāvati so far, nor at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and as a matter of fact in any school of Indian art this type of leave taking by Gautama is so realistically delineated.

The collection includes another beautiful *stūpa* slab depicting the bridal procession of the queen Yaśhodara. Yaśhodara is shown in a litter or palanquine (*Śibikā*) which is being carried by men. On either side of the palanquine, royal men in chariots are following. Although the chariot cannot be made out from the sculpture since

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that portion is mutilated, the horse of it can be made out. In front of the litter, one can see men in rejoicement. They are in dancing posture. The *lasya* is very realistic. Thus, the whole atmosphere is in rapture as the bridal procession is on. The artist has very economically utilised the space for the depiction of the chariots on either side of the litter. He has shown the horse and the portion of the chariot. The palanquine is again very artistic and betrays a new type. There is a depiction of bridal procession in Gandhāra sculptures, the type of *Śibikā* depicted there, is a trefoiled arch. The palanquine that occurs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and in other panels of Amarāvati in different context is a square one. In this way, the sculpture is rare and unique. Many sculptural fragments revealing the stūpa worship are also among the collection. In one case, a pillar is carved with a *Dharma Chakra* mounted on it. There are successive arms on either side of the pillar and these arms have mounted bowmen depicted on them.

In the foundation pit dug for the construction of the entrance, quite good number of sculptures (fragmentary) have been noticed. The same pit has also yielded brick walls and also large quantities of pottery, all of Sātavāhana period. The pottery includes bowls and vases of red ware, dishes and bowls of Black-and-Red ware, dishes of black slipped ware etc. Unfortunately, the brick wall is completely damaged. What is interesting is that the brick measuring 24" in length which is of Sātavāhana period is very much used in the construction of the temple. Evidently, it shows that much of the material of the Amarāvati *Stūpa* in the form of sculptures and bricks have all been profusely utilised in temple construction. The discovery of the brick wall and the pottery from this recently dug pit reveals that Amareśvara temple was built over a mound evidently of the Buddhist.

There is an interesting *Stūpa* slab (*Plate IV, 3*), which is badly mutilated. Explaining from the bottom of the panel, one can see a flying *Gandharva*. He is wearing a disc shaped ear ornament which can be compared to Dhenri of Bengal. His *prakoṣṭavalayas* are also

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quite extant. His antarīya is secured by means of *kamarabandha*. In the next panel, immediately over it two males and one female are shown seated in *padmāsana*. They are in adoration. One male figure is shown holding a indetermined object. He is pointing it to the knee cap of the other person seated by his side. However, the meaning of the depiction is not clear. What is interesting is that all these human figures are shown in nudity. One can also make out from the males, the *karṇa vesṭaṇa*. As for the female, she wears a multi coiled ornament nūpura, while her ear ornament is disc shaped one. The interesting sculptures that were discovered from this pit includes a beautiful female figure, probably *yakṣhiṇī*. The physiognomy is that, she has an acquiline nose, marked lips. The ornament includes *jūtikābharaṇa*, a fore-head ornament. The hair-style can be compared to the Peacock Plume mode (*Baraha Bhāra Keśa*). The figure is very lovely and marks the mature Amarāvati art style (*Plate IV, 2*). There is again a flying *Gandharva*. The anatomy of his body reveals the perfect conception of the artist to chisel out human figure. The *Gandharva* wears beautiful pair of *Maṭṭa kuṇḍala* or *Mṛsṭa kuṇḍala*. His *prakoṣṭa valayas*, *keyūras* are quite extant. His *antarīya* is secured by means of *kamarabandha*, the tassels of which are seen slinging on to his left. There are also a few sculptural fragments depicting goat, parrot etc. (*Plate IV, 1 & 4*). In many of the figures, the ear ornament is *karṇa vesṭaṇa* which was very popular during the Sātavāhana period. Another ornament which enjoyed the zenith of popularity during the Sātavāhana period was the multi-coiled leg ornament. Many of the sculptural fragments recovered in the pit reveal the leg portion containing such nūpuras.

There is again a huge sculpture of Nandi, but in mutilation. The bull is richly caparisoned. The side bands (*paṭṭada*) have three strands with spacers in square and circular designs (*Plate V*). The Nandi as pieced together, measure 1.95 meters. Unfortunately, it is in mutilated condition, but almost all the fragments are available for one to mend it. There is again an ornate pillar still lying *in-situ*. It is richly carved and perhaps meant to receive *chakra*. Besides these, there are many sculptural fragments revealing lotus medallion, half lotus

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medallion, uprights, slabs with *Dharma Chakra*, Bodhi tree etc. There is a huge brick with a letter *Ma* inscribed over it. There are also considerable number of inscriptions in Telegu characters, presumably pertaining to the Amareśvara temple.

It is evident that the dig in and around the temple is bound to yield many evidences pertaining to the Buddhist period. It is also hoped, many more sculptures from the dismantled debris of the Amareśvara temple.

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14

Dohada concept in the Sculptural Art

Dohada, presumably derived from the word *durhṛda*[1]—sickness of heart, means a pregnancy desire of a woman for particular objects. Certain trees are conceived to have predilection at their budding time and blossom forth on a spur given to them by young damsels. It is said that with the very touch of a woman *Priyangu* creeper puts forth blossoms, *Bakula* (Mimosopselengi) through the sprinkling of a mouthful liquor, *Aśoka* through the kick of their feet, *Tilaka* (Clervodendrum phlomoids) and *Kurabaka* (Red Amaranth) through their glance and embrace. *Mandāra* (Erythrina Indica) through their pleasure talk, *Caṁpaka* through their smart and tender laughing *Cūta* through the breath of their mouth, *Nameru* (Elaeocarpus ganitrus) puts forth blossoms, through their songs and *Karṇikāra* (Ptero-spemumacerifolium) through their dancing in front of it.[2] This conception is probably acquired from the hoary fertility rites. This touch of the woman is supposed to hasten the tree into immediate florescence. This act is generally interpreted as the souls' union with the onmiscience, commonly signified in India by the metaphor of sexual union. Woman or *yakṣī* is the first and supreme fertility symbol in Indian mythology. In *dohada*, she is the bride of the tree and stands for the sap of the tree, the life fluid of all creation.[3] The portraiture of such typified womanhood in early Indian sculptural art is very common. Their depiction on stone is meticulous and varied. Generally, they appear as standing beneath a tree, on a dwarf, animal or monster, performing *dohada* or as *śālabhañjikā* (breaking the branch of a sal tree).

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However, the earliest sculptural representation of *dohada*, we find at Barhūt. It is a recurrent motif of Suṇga period of 1st century B.C., of which some have been described below :

Culakoka Devata[4] *on a pillar of stone railing—Barhūt* (*Fig. XXIV, 1*)

She is depicted as standing under a blossoming *Aśoka* tree performing *dohada*. Her right foot is planted on a frisky tusker which encircles the bottom of the tree with its trunk while the left leg and arm entwine the stem of the tree. Her right hand lowers a bough. Her head is tilted slightly to the left. She is sparsely clothed but heavily ornamented. The entire thing is a case of the *Latā-vaveṣṭika* type of *Āliṇgaṇa dohada*.

Canda yakṣī[5] *pillar relief—Barhūt* (*Fig. XXIV, 2*)

She is seen standing under a blossoming tree performing *dohada*. She is keeping her right foot firmly planted, while her left leg entwines the stem of the tree with the foot resting on the head of the fish-tailed animal. The right hand is raised over the head and is lowering the bough. The left arm also entwines the stem of the tree. She is clothed and well ornamented. She is also shown performing as above the *Latā-vaveṣṭika* type of *āliṇgaṇa dohada*. In this, Canda *yakṣī* holds elegantly a tender stalk with leaves and flowers of the same tree with her left arm, thumb and fore-finger.

Woman and tree motif[6] *on a bas-relief at Stūpa railing—Barhūt*

Two female figures emerging from a medallion in the middle of the pillar appear standing on the lotus bud on the edge of the pillar, of them one keeps her left leg firmly while her left hand is simply slinging. The right leg and arm are encircling the stem of the tree. The right hand is holding the bottom of the lotus stalk, the bud of which has not yet blossomed. She is scantily clothed but well ornamented. She is in an *āliṇgaṇa dohada* pose. Her left leg is firmly planted on the lotus bud while her left arm kept akimbo over her head is touching the bough of the blossomed lotus flower. The right leg and arm are entwining the stem of the tree. She is also not adequately clothed.

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In the early sculptures of Bodhgaya,[7] a lady can be seen climbing an *Aśoka* tree with her feet held on by her lover who, as remarked by Kālidāsa, is as much entitled to it as the tree. She is performing *Aśoka dohada* as seen at Barhūt. Apparently, the verse from the *Subhāshitāvali*[8] is well answered here.

Dryad on the toraṇas of Sanchi Gateway (*Fig. XXIV, 3*)

At Sanchi, the elegant unclad dryad[9] standing in gracefully flexed pose under flower-laden Sal tree conveys the same meaning of the *devatas* of Barhūt. In this a *sparśa dohada* is indicated. In these *toraṇa śālabhañjikas*, a vigorous dynamism pervades the form which might have inspired the poet Aśvagosha to compare them in his *Buddhacarita*[10] with pretty damsels bent over the window-sill for observing the bridal procession.

The sculpture of *yakṣiṇī* in the Lucknow Museum and the woman and the child sculpture in the Mathura Museum[11] are the true descendants of Barhūt, Bodhgaya and Sanchi figures.

Dohada Sculpture from Amarāvati[12]

The posture of Māyādevi is noteworthy. Her left arm is raised, seizing the branch of a tree while the left knee is bent with her left foot gently touching the stem of a tree. Apparently, she is performing *pādāghāta dohada.*

Lady in Dohada from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[13] *sculpture*
(*Fig. XXIV, 4-a to 4-d*)

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the lithographic representation of the lady in *dohada* is alluring. Both the *sparśa dohada* (*Fig. XXIV, 4-a to 4-c*) and *pādāghāta dohada* (*Fig. XXIV, 4-d*) get their depiction. Both clothed and unclothed women in *dohada* are portrayed. In majority of the cases, she is made to stand on the ornate pedestal of *makara.*

The woman and tree motif on door jambs[14]

The woman and tree motif or the *dohada* motif continued to be the favourite theme in subsequent ages also. The belief that trees put

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forth blossoms when a graceful lady kicks it or touches it with her body, hand or foot persisted giving expression in many of the sculptures of later ages. Dr. Vogel adopted the name *śālabhañjikā* to denote this motif[15].

Such a motif dating from circa 6th century A.D., is now preserved in the Allahabad Museum. There, a lady[16] is shown bending the branch of an *Aśoka* tree in the act of *sparśa dohada*. Her right leg rests on a creeper from which a male figure is seen emerging tangentially to it, while her right hand is raised over the head lowering down the branch of the tree. Her left hand is slinging down and her left leg is kept akimbo and crossed touching leisurely the back of the emerged male figures. The face is aslant to the right side and the lady is sparsely clothed. The weary face of the lady is suggestive that the artist of this figure perhaps desired to portray a *yakṣiṇī* in the posture of *śālabhañjikā* who had to wait hoping against hope for her *yakṣa* husband, a topic treated in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtaṁ*. She may also be a local, all compassionate tree-goddess (*sthaladevatā*) who wards off suffering of separation and desolation.

The woman and tree motif on a wooden facade from Nepal—(7th century A.D.)

A lady[17] is seen bending the tree branch suggesting the act of *sparśa dohada*. Her right leg is almost vertically placed while her right hand is resting on her right hip. The left leg is bent horizontally and crossed touching the *makara* while her left hand is held high over her head touching the very leaves and the flowers of the same tree. The entire posture is in an artistic gesture, reminding the verse 52 of *Buddhacarita*.[18]

Again, the bracket figures of Vaiṣṇava caves at Bādāmī and Rameśvara varandah bracket figures at Ellorā (7th cent. A.D.) are the fine examples of the woman and tree motif.[19]

Similarly, the figures on the temple walls of Bhubaneśwar and koṇārk of Orissa represent *dohada* of the *Aśoka* and *Kuravaka* trees accomplished by the embrace of them by women.

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The tree-goddesses[20] of the 11-12th centuries A.D. (*Fig. XXIV, 5*) show change of the popular motif from the static repose to the dynamic expressivity. The divinity stands with crossed feet in the inveterate position of the tree-goddesses, lifting one foot a little to give the tree a kick with her heel. Yet, she neither kicks the tree nor grasps the branch. These traditional acts which formerly denoted the attitude of the *devatas* of Barhūt, Sanchi etc., have been discarded. The mere appearances of the goddesses were enough to explain her character and function.[21]

In literature, references to the *dohada* concept are copious. *Rāyapasenaijja* the *śvetāmbara* text[22] describes the carving of a female bending down the branch of the tree (*śālabhañjias*). These *śālabhañjias* as construed by Gustav Roth[23] are both decorative and adorative in character. In Buddhist literature, Nidānakathā[24] of the Jātakas refers to the concept of *dohada.*

Later, the *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa[25] provide ample evidence to the concept of *dohada.* He informs that only the unblossomed Aśoka tree and the lover have the special privilege of receiving a kick from the foot of the beautiful lass.[26] In the *Uttarāmegha*[27] of the same poet, the *dohada* of the *Aśoka* and *Kuravaka* trees is spoken of. Similarly, the *Aśoka dohada* gets its mention in *Subhāshitāvali*[28] of Vallabhadeva.

Later, Bhojadeva[29] in *Samarāṇgaṇā-sūtradhāra* (11th century A.D.) insists the carving of women seizing the branch of a tree on the pillars of the auspicious gateways. We also get references to the woman and tree motif in the Sanskrit text *Aparājitaprcchā* of Bhuvanadeva[30] of the 12-13th centuries A.D.

However, the *dohada* motif or the woman and tree motif in Indian art does not appear to be either Jain or Buddhist in origin. One can see distinctly in the early Buddhist *yakṣis* and *devatas* the characteristic traits of *Śri-Lakṣmī* in *Nyagrodha Parimaṇḍala* type. In Hindu iconography,[31] *Śri-Lakṣmī* is described as well clad, having fully developed breasts, a narrow waist and heavy buttocks. These features are indicative of radiant and healthy mother-hood. The *Sirimā devatā,*

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the standing female figure of the Barhūt artist can be none else than the figure of *Nyagrodha Parimaṇḍala* type.

Again, these *yakṣis* or devatas of woman and tree motif are not dancing girls as construed by some scholars. They are the auspicious emblems of vegetative fertility derived from the popular belief.[32] The trees, as we know, are closely connected with fertility and tree marriages have endured to the present day in India. Thus, the *dohada* concept has been so favourite a theme through the ages for portraiture in the early Indian sculptural art that the flight of time did not dim its memory.

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Iconography of Mahasadasiva

Mahāsadāśiva is one of the important aspects of Śiva. The philosophic aspect of Mahāsadāśiva is explained in *Vatulasuddhagama.* He being one of the aspects of Śiva (the *Pañcha Brahmas*)[1], it is based on the philosophy of the *Śuddha Śaiva* School of *Śaivism.*[2] He is conceived as having twenty five heads and fifty arms bearing as many objects in their hands. The twenty five heads stand for the twenty five *tattvas* of philosophy.

Mānasāra lays down that Mahāsadāśiva should have twenty five faces, seventy five eyes and fifty arms. He should have *jaṭāmakutas* and *kuṇḍalas* besides number of sarpālaṇkaras. His two hands should display *abhaya* and *varada* poses.

Prasanna Pañchaviṁśaka Sputānanaṁ Jaṭādharaṁ|
Supancha Saptathikshanaṁ Kapāla Kuṇḍalānkithaṁ||
Satārdha hasta bhūshitaṁ Varābhayānvitaṁ sita|
Bhujaṇgabhūshaṇaṁ Parambhaje Mahāsadāśivaṁ||

Again, the Rūpamaṇḍana mentions a multi-faced Sadāśiva. Despite the text does not describe the number of heads of such a deity from the number of arms which are given as sixteen, it appears that the icons referred to here belongs to Mahāsadāśiva variety. His right hands hold a *ḍamaru*, a *sudaraśana*, a *sarpa*, a *śūla*, an *aṅkuśa*, a *kumbha*, a *kaumudī* and a *jayamālā*, while the left carry a *ghaṇṭa*, a *kapāla*, a *khaṭvāṇga-tarjanī*, a *kuṇḍikā*, a *dhanusha*, a *paraśu* and a *paṭṭiśa.*

Bahurūpo dadhada dakshe ḍamaruṁ cha sudarsanaṁ|
Sarpaṁ śūlankaśhau, kumbham kaumudīṁ jayamālikaṁ||

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Ghaṇṭa kapāla khaṭvāṅga tarjanī kuṇḍikaṁ dhanu/
Parasuṁ patitaśuṁ chethi vāmodhvardi kramena hi//

(*Rūpamaṇḍana*, iv, 23-24)

Similarly, the *Skānda Purāṇa* mentions a seated form of Śiva known as Mahākailasa or Mahāsadāśiva which is represented with twenty five faces and fifty hands, wears a garland of skulls and is clothed in a tiger's skin[3].

Images of Mahāsadāśiva or Mahākailasa, in esoteric manner, are quite rare in Hindu iconography. Interestingly, an earliest known sculptural representation of Mahāsadāśiva of Eastern Chālukyan period occurs from Pedda Veṇgi in West Godāvarī district in Āndhra Pradesh[4] (*Plate VI*). The sculpture in black granite is that of Mahāsadāśiva standing in *samabhaṇga* posture. He is ten headed (arranged is one tier), five heads on each side, in a group, represent five aspects of Śiva[5] (*Vāmadeva, Sadyojāta, Aghora, Talpuruṣa* and *Iśāṇa*) substituting on the whole, twenty five heads corresponding to the textual description given in Mānasāra. He is twenty armed. All the heads have *jaṭāmakutas* and *kuṇḍalas* in the ear are quite distinct. He wears *kaṇṭābharṇa* garnished with studs. The *prakoṣṭa valaya, yagñopavīta, udarabandha, sarpa keyūra, mekhala* and *nūpuras* are quite visible. All the hands seem to hold something of which a club, a trident, *khaḍga* etc., can be made out. One of his right hands is in *abhaya* pose while the left is resting on his thigh. The *dhoti* (*antarīya*) worn by him is tucked upto his knees. The elegant sculpture can be dated to 8-9th centuries A.D. of the Eastern Chālukyan period and it is the earliest known sculptural representation of Mahāsadāśiva so far known in Hindu iconography. The dating of the sculpture is done on stylistic grounds.[6] The *kirīta makuta, graiveyaka, mekhala, sarpa keyūra* are typical of Chālukyan art and parallels of them, we see in many early Chālukyan sculptures adorning the temples. Particularly, one can see the prolific representation of *sarpa keyūra* in the early Chālukyan sculptures. This ornament which was present at Aihole, Bādāmi, Patadakal, Elephanta, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvati, Kanheri etc., makes it appearance in early Chālukyan period in profusion, thereby indicating its popularity.

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However, we get other examples of Mahāsadāśiva in places like Khajurāho, Kalanjar in Madhya Pradesh, in Tanjore district of Tamilnādu and Himāchal Pradesh.

A sculpture of *chatuṣhpāda* Mahāsadaśiva is displayed in the Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho in Madhya Pradesh (*Plate VII*). His heads are arranged horizontally in two tiers. The dome like projection over-head suggests the *Iśāṇa* aspect of the deity. His available lower right hand is held in gift-bestowing attitude and the four legs are arranged as in the image of Sadāśiva carved on the Kandariya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho. The sculpture can be dated to the Chandella period—10th century A.D. Another example of rock-cut sculpture of Mahāsadāśiva can be seen near the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Kalanjar (Madhya Pradesh) (*Plate VIII*). The multi-armed God has several heads arranged horizonally in three rows. He holds a rosary, a *khaṭvāṇga* and a *mātuluṇga* and other attributes in his hands. He is shown *ūrdhvaretas*. The image is datable to 13th century A.D.

Similarly, an image of Mahāsadāśiva is noticed at *Vaidyesvaran koyil* in Tanjore district. In this sculpture, the heads are arranged in tiers in arithmatical progression like 1, 3, 5 and 9. He has twenty five faces, each of the five aspects of Śiva being represented by five faces. Only the border heads are having *jaṭāmakuta*. The hands are held in *abhaya* and *varada* poses as usual. He is seated in *ardha-paryaṇka* pose.[7] The sculpture can be dated to 18th century A.D.

Besides, a miniature painting of twenty armed Mahāsadāśiva of 18th century A.D. and an eighteen armed Mahāsadāśiva of 19th century A.D., all of Kangra style are in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi.

It is noteworthly that excepting Āndhra Pradesh, Tamilnādu and Himāchal Pradesh, no image of Mahāsadāśiva is reported to have been published from Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal. Further, the Āndhra Pradesh contributes probably the earliest known sculptural representation of Mahāsadāśiva of th e medieval period.

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16

Amaravati Tantric Icons

It is well-known that in the early phase of Buddhism in Āndhra, the Buddha was never represented in an anthropomorphic form. Only scenes from Buddha's life and stories of his previous births or jātakas were represented. It is only in the Gandhāra School of Art that the images of Buddha and Bodhisatva Avalokiteśvara make their appearance. At Mathura, Sarnath occupies an important place, as the flourishing centre of Buddhist art till the days of Pāla kings of Bengal. It is at this place, varied representation of Vajrayāna Buddhism occur. *Saḍakṣari*, *Lokeśvara*, *Ucchuṣma*, *Jambhala*, *Vasudhārā*, *Mañjuśri*, *Tārā Dhyāni Buddhas* etc., are some of the notable images of Vajrayāna Buddhism. However, the latest icons of Vajrayāna were produced at monasteries of Odantarpuri, Nalanda and Vikramaśīla before Buddhism finally lost its hold in the land of its birth.

The study of the accounts of Chinese travellers, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang and ancient texts like the *Sukhavātiyuha* or the *Amitreyasutta* would be of great value in determining the dates of the introduction of these different cities into the Buddhist pantheon. None of the earlier works particularly, those of Aśvagosha, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva refer to be Dhyāni Buddhas. It is only Śāntideva (9th century A.D.) in his book *Sikṣa-Sammuccya* refers to the name of Akṣhobhya and Amitābha as *Tathāgatas*. In his time, *tantra* seems to have wielded greater influence as is evident from the numerous references to the *Tantric* work. As a sequel to this, many Sanskrit texts in Buddhist Iconography like "*Aṣṭasahasrik*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Pañcaraksā*, *Sādhanamālā* etc., came into existence. These works help us in identifying the *tantric* icons.

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At Amarāvati (the famous Buddhist centre in Āndhra Pradesh) as a result of trial excavations in the stupa area considerable numbers of *tantric* icons have been unearthed.[1] In the chronological sequence of the occupation of the site, these belonged to the late phase (8-9th centuries A.D.), which demarcates the last phase of *tantric* Buddhism at Amarāvati. Corroborating this, a few of celadon wares datable to 9th century A.D. and terracotta sealings with Buddhist creed formulae running to five lines in Devanagari, presumably of post-Gupta period were also found from this phase. The notable structure of late phase includes an elaborate brick-built enclosure measuring 129′×62′ with traces of a Cuddapah slab flooring in the interior and with an entrance of 4′ 3′ width. The breadth of the enclosure wall is 3′ 9′. It is here, in the niches, provided to the outer portion of this enclosure wall in equi-distance of 1′ 6″ on the either side of the passage are flanked the *tantric* icons under study. Within this massive enclosure lies what appears to be the shrine chamber of Jambhala measuring 14′×14′.

A. *Buddha* (*Plate IX*)

This is an image of Gautama Buddha in lime-stone, measuring 17″×9″×2″. He is seated in *Vajraparyaṇka* attitude, with his right hand in *Bhūsparśa* mudra or the attitude of touching the earth with right hand in calling the earth to witness his attainments of the Supreme Knowledge and of his over 'Māra'. His left hand rests on the lap. He is seated on a lotus throne or the lotus seat. Below this, is represented a damsel in offering pose. She could also be the Mother-Earth herself. The crude representation of the image ascribes the date as late as 10th century A.D. to the sculpture.

Gautama, the last of group of the seven Mortal Buddha is widely represented both in sculptures and paintings. The images of Gautama Buddha are particularly numerous in East Bengal.[2] Generally, he is represented in *Bhūmisparśa* mudra attitude and is seen seated on a *padmāsana*. Below the *padmāsana* is represented generally an elephant, the horse or the corpulent squatting swords-man, damsel with folded arms, *chakra*, the male financier, some offerings, squatting bearded man with skulls held upto the Buddha etc.[3]

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The *Sādhanamāla* gives us several descriptions of Buddha in *Vajrāsana*. In one *Sādhana*[4], he is described as one who displays *Bhūmisparśa* mudra in right hand, while the left hand rests on the lap. He is dressed in red garment and sits on the *vajra* on the double lotus. He is peaceful in appearance and his body is endowed with all the major and minor auspicious marks. The terracotta plaque from *Sabhar* depicts the Buddha in similar attitude.[5] Again, we get Buddha images of the *tantric* period at Salihundam.[6]

B. *Maitreya* (*Plate X*)

This is an image of Maitreya in lime-stone measuring 12″×11″ ×2½″. He is two-armed and seated on a throne in a *Pratyālīḍha* posture. His right hand is in *Varadamudra*, while the left hand holds a *Nāgakeśara* flower. His left leg which is kept akimbo is resting on a lotus *pādhapīṭa*. The person is ornamented profusely with "*kanaka kamalas*, *kaṇṭābharaṇa*, *keyūra*, *mekhala* and *prakoṣṭavalaya*". The crown he wears is very elaborate. The *adhovastra* worn by him is secured by means of *mekhala*. It extends upto the ankle with its folds distinctly visible.

On the plinth is depicted a *Dānapathi* or donor. He is keeping his folded palm upwards in token of reverence. The *uttarīya* and *antarīya* of the *Dānapathi* are clearly extant. Behind throne is portrayed a figure of a *chaitya* because he is generally, distinguished from Padmapani mainly by the figure of a small *chaitya*.

Maitreya is a *Bodhisatva*, who is supposed to have been waiting in *Tuṣhita* heaven, in order to come down to the earth as a future Buddha. He is the object of the worship both to the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists. The images of the Maitreya can be traced from the Gandhāra school down to the present times. Although the cult of Maitreya was evolved before Aśoka's time, his worship was not at its height until the fifth century A.D. There are many statues of him in the Gandhāra sculptures of that period. In the bas-relief temples of Borboedoer there are many representations of Maitreya which date from the 9th century A.D.[7] Huien Tsang records the existence of Maitreya in *udyana*. He is popular in Tibet and his images are found

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in abundance in China. He is represented both in standing and seated postures. He tops the list of *Bodhisatvas* in the *Mañjuvagra maṇḍala.* In it, he is described as to possess four hands. The two principal hands display *dharma chakra mudra,* while the other two hands show *varada mudra* in the right and the twig of a *Nāgakeśara* with flower in the left respectively. He is golden in hue. According to *Durgathi-pariśodhana maṇḍala,* he is of yellow colour, holding in his right hand the flower of *Nāgakeśara* and in the left hand a mendicant bowl. Interestingly, the image under reference fits well into the description made in the *Sādhanamālā,* wherein Maitreya has been described as one in yellow colour and shows *Nāgakeśara* flower and the *Varadamudra.* His chief symbol, however, seems to be *Nāgakeśara* flower.

C. *Maitreya* (*Plate XIII, 3*)

This is a mutilated lime-stone image of Maitreya. Though it is broken, we can make out that he is two-armed and that his right hand is in *Varada mudra,* while the left hand holds the Nagakesara flower. He wears *kanaka kamalas, kaṇṭā-bharaṇas, keyūras* and *prakoṣṭavalayas.* He wears an elaborate crown.

D. *Buddha and Padmapāṇi* (*Plate XI*)

In this lime-stone sculpture, measuring 17″×9″×2″, the Buddha is seated in *Vajraparyaṇka* attitude. His right hand is an *Bhūsparśa mudra,* while his left hand is kept on the lap. The *vajra* in the centre is symbolical of *Vajrāsana* of the Buddha. He is sublime in appearance and he is in meditation. An elaborate cover wraps his boby with one of its ends slinging on the left shoulder. He has a conical *ushṇīsa* and the pierced ear-lobes of his are almost touching the shoulders. The halo forms the background of the head. To his left is portrayed the image of *padmapāṇi.* He is seated in *pratyālīḍa* pose with his right leg kept akimbo and resting presumably on a foot-stool. He is two-armed. His right hand is in *varada mudra,* while his left hand shows *Vitarka mudra* with the stem of the lotus flower. He wears an elaborate five-leaved crown, *karṇa-kuṇḍalas, kaṇṭābharaṇa, prakoṣṭavalaya* etc. The folds of his lower garment are clearly visible. To his right flanking him is carved another lotus flower. Below his throne can be seen a devotee in folded arms.

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Padmapani is non-*tantra* form of Avalokiteśvara and is supposed to create all animate things by command of his *Dhyāna* Buddha and Amitābha. After the death of Gautama Buddha, Padmapāṇi is very popular in Tibet and in Japan. In Japan, he is known as *Shokwan-non*.[8] He is also said to be the favourite deity of Nāgas. In his earliest form, he held a lotus flower which is his special symbol, but in the late representation, a vase was added. In Ceylon, small bronze figure of *padmapāṇi* datable to 6th-9th centuries A.D. has been found. He is represented there, as sitting in *rājalīla* attitude with the right or left foot pendent. The right hand may be in *vitarka*, *abhaya* or *varada* mudra, while the left holds the stem of full-blown lotus flower.

E. *Buddha with Maitreya and Padmapāṇi* (*Plate XII*)

This is a lime-stone image of Gautama Buddha flanked on either side by Maitreya and Padmapāṇi respectively. The sculpture measures 19½"×12"×2½". Gautama Buddha in the centre is seated on the lotus throne in *Vajraparyaṇka* pose. He is having his right hand in *Bhūmisparśa mudra*, while the left hand rests on the lap. The *uruṇa* on the forehead and the pierced ear-lobes are quite visible. The *vajra* on the lotus throne kept in front of him symbolises his *vajrāsana*. Below the lotus throne can be seen a damsel in the folded palms. To his right is seated Maitreya in *pratyālīḍa* pose, with his right leg kept resting on the foot-stool (*pādapīṭa*). His left hand holds the *Nāgakeśara* flower, while his right hand is in *vyākhyāna* mudra. He wears *kanaka kamalas*, *keyūras* and *nūpuras*. The head-dress adorned him is very eloborate. To the right of Gautama Buddha, Padmapāṇi sits on a lotus throne in *pratyālīḍa* posture. He rests his right hand on the right lap, while his left hand holds the stem of the full-blown lotus flower. He is flanked by full-blown lotus flower on either side.

F. *Heruka* (*Plate XIII, 1*)

This is a lime-stone image of Heruka measuring 10"×7"×3". He is two armed and is seen in a *ardhaparyaṇka* attitude. He is well clad in human skin. He wields the *vajra* in the right hand, while the

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left hand carries the *kapāla*. On the left shoulder hangs in *khaṭvāṇga* in a *Yogñopavīta* fashion. He is wearing *kuṇḍalas*, a necklace of bones sewn by guts, *mekhala*, bangles, *keyūras* and *nūpuras*. He wears a headdress, the details of which are not clear. The lower garment which extends up to the ankle is secured by means of *mekhala*. He has blood shot eyes and is terrible to look at.

The image under study, tallies in many respects with the traits of Heruka, described in the *Sādhanamāla*. The two armed *Heruka* is a rare representation. His worship confers on the worshippers the *Buddhahood*. He is said to destroy all *māras* of the world. His images are extremely rare even in Nepal. Only two examples, one at Baudhanath temple at Nepal and other at Comilla[9] are so far available. The present icon mostly tallies with Heruka at Comilla. Thus, it becomes first of its kind in Southern Buddhism.

G. *Jambhala*[10] (*Plate XIV*)

It is mutilated stucco figure discovered within the prescincts of a shrine. Probably, it might have been one of the tutelory deities installed in a chamber since the size of the chamber is too big for enshrining this solitary figure. Since it is mutilated, it is bereft of iconographic details. According to the *Sādhanamāla*, *Jambhala* should be of golden colour, big-bellied with citron in the right hand and she-mongoose in the left. However, in the present figure, under study, only a few of these traits are discernable. He is represented as uncouth, corpulent figure sitting in a squatting posture. The right arm is broken. But it appears that it was folded and that it contained possibly a citron indicated by the ovalish lump on the chest of the figure. Interestingly, the parallel example of this and a contemporaneous to the Jambhala icon under study, but in stone (intact) comes from Paikpara, district Dacca. The image has an inscription[11] of two lines on its back in Bengali script of the 9th century A.D.

Several of Jambhala forms are referred to in the *Sādhanamālā*, which states that the parental Dhyāni Buddha of Jambhala is either Ratna-Sambhava or Aṣkobhya.[12] Jambhala under study would have been the emanation of Ratna-Sambhava.[13] In *Sādhanamālā* only three

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Dhyānas describe Jambhala as single. As an emanation of Ratna-Sambhava, he may be represented either alone or in the embrace of his *Śakti* in yab-yum.[14] However, single representation of Jambhala in *Lalitakṣepha* posture can be seen in Nepal at Vikrampur.[15] But what is significant in the Jambhala under review, is its rare occurence in stucco in association with other *tantric* icons of 9th century A.D. Further, the provision of chamber (probably a shrine?) to this deity at Amarāvati, once a flourishing centre of Tantric Buddhism all the more heightens its importance.

H. *Syāmatāra* (*Plate XV*)

This is an image of '*Syāmatāra*' of Khadiravani class in lime-stone and measures 17"×12"×4". She is two-armed and is sitting on a lotus throne in *Lalitāsana*. She keeps her right leg akimbo and rests it on a lotus *pādapīṭa*. The right hand is in the *varada mudra*, while the left hand holds an half-blown blue lotus (*neelotpala*) in the *vitarka mudra*. Unfortunately, the head is mutilated, however, the exquisite ornamentation of the goddess, the "*kaṇṭi*, *ekāvalī*, *bhujakīrtis keyūras*, *prakoṣṭavalayas*, an elaborate *mekhala* with loops dangling and *nūpura* are impeccable and are in turn with the description enjoined in the *Sādhanamālā*.[16] The elaborate lower garment extending from waist to the ankle giving an appearance of a *sari* constitutes her *adhovastra*. The lower garment with the tassel or sash in the centre is secured by means of *mekhala*. The folds of the lower garment are distinctly visible.

Comparable examples of this *Syāmatārā* or *khadiravanitārā* occur at Sompara, district Dacca,[17] and from Salihundam,[18] district Srikakulam.

It is well known that Syāmatārā emanating from *Amogasiddhi* belongs to the Khadiravani class. In the *Sādhanamālā*, Khadiravani is designated as tārā along with "*Jāngulī*, *Parnasavam*, *Mahāchīnatārā*, *Ekajaṭā* etc. She has been described as in green colour. She bears the image of Amogasiddhi or her tiara. She has two hands which show the *Varada mudra* in the right and *utpala* in the left. She is flanked by *Aśoka kāntā*, Marīchī and *Ekajaṭā* on the left and the right sides. This celestial virgin could be seen in meditation.[19]

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She is commonly known as Syāmatārā because of her green colour. She is considered by the Tibetians to be the original Tārā. In fact, the Tibetan name for the goddess is *do-ngon*, which means the original tara.[20] As *Sādhana* does not mention the particular *āsana*, she may be represented in any attitude either as sitting or standing as seen in the case of the image housed in Indian Museum at Dacca or at Salihundam.[21] The Dacca Museum[22] image of Syāmatārā tallies well with icon under study save the presence of the two divinities *Aśoka kāntā* and *Ekajaṭā*.

I. *Syamatara (Plate XVI)*

This is again another image of Syāmatārā of 'Khadiravani class in lime-stone" measuring $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7'' \times 3''$. What is interesting in this image is the presence of head, unlike the above one, where the head is missing owing to its mutilation. She is also two-armed and is sitting in *Lalitāsana*. She keeps her right leg akimbo. The right hand is in *Bhūmisparśa mudra* while the left hand holds a lotus flower in the *vitarka mudra*. Unlike the above, she is sparsely ornamented and in this case, we can see *karṇakuṇḍalas* which resemble *Dhenri* of the modern Bengal. This *karṇakuṇḍala* is exactly similar to the one worn by the Syāmatārā Sompada. The necklace (*kaṇṭābharaṇa*), the bracelet (*keyūra*) and the wristlet (*prākoṣṭavalaya*) can be made out in her case also. She wears a head-dress. Her lower garment is very simple and covers her loin portion. The figure is crudely represented as compared to the above example.

J. *Ugratārā or Mahāchīna Tārā (Plate XIII, 2)*

This is an image of Ugratārā or Mahāchīna tārā in lime-stone and measures in dimension $13'' \times 7'' \times 3''$. She is four armed and standing in *pratyālīḍha* pose. She holds a sword (*khaḍga*) and a knife (*churikā*) in the two right hands and a *utpala* (black lotus) and a skull (*kapāla*) in the two left hands. Though the face is mutilated or defaced, one can make out the three blood-shot eyes (the third one can be discernable on her forehead) *lalāta* distinctly. The ornament (*karṇa kuṇḍalas* which may be *mṛsta kuṇḍalas, kaṇṭābharaṇa, bhujakīrtis, prakoṣṭavalayas* and garland of skulls adorn her body. She also

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wears a crown or head gear, the details of which are not however, clear. The *antarīya* or the lower garment worn by her may be of tiger skin with a tassel dangling in the centre. Though her face is defaced slightly yet the terrible countenance of it can be made out from blood-shot eyes and protruded tongue. Her short and sturdy body with firm breasts streads on a corpse.

The *Dhyāna* in the *Sādhanamālā*[23] describes her as the one who stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude having garland of skulls or heads from the neck. She is short and has protruded belly. She is terrible to look at and her complexion is like that of a blue lotus. She is three eyed, one-faced and laughs horribly. She is decked in ornaments of snakes. She had red and round eyes and wears the garment of tiger skin round her loin. She is in her youthful form with five auspicious symbols. She had a protruded tongue and appears fierce with cannine fangs. She carries a sword, knife *utpala* and skull in her four hands. The chignon of her crown is brown and fiery and bears the image of Akṣobhya within it. The *ugratārā* of the Buddhist *tantric* literature is an emanation of Akṣobhya. The parallel example of *ugratārā* can be seen in Vajrayogini temple at Sanku in Nepal. This *ugratārā* of the Buddhists has been incorporated by the Hindus in their pantheon in the name of *tārā*[24].

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1. The tantric icons under study were discovered during the trial excavations in the vicinity of the Mahāchaitya at Amarāvati (North Latitude, 16° 34′ 45″; East Longitude, 80° 24′ 20″) a small village situated 21 miles away from Guntur in Āndhra Pradesh. The excavations were concluded in 1951-59 by the author under the direction of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam of the Archaeological Survey of India (IAR, 1958-59, p. 5; Pls. IB, IC and ID; and also *Purātattva*, No. 6, Plate IV(d).
2. N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography af Buddhist and Brahmaṇical sculpture from Decca Museum* (Calcutta, 1929), Pls. VIII, IX.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
4. *Sādhanamālā*, A-15, N-13, C-5; Also see Benoytosh Bhattacharya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography mainly based on the *Sādhanamālā and other cognate Tantric texts of rituals*, (Baroda, 1924), p. 11.

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5. Bhattasali, *Loc cit.*, Pl. X.
6. R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam, A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh*, (Hyderabad, 1964), Pls. XXIX and XXX.
7. Alice Gettv, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, (Oxford, 1914), p. 22.
8. Getti, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
9. Bhattacharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.
10. K. Krishna Murthy, A note on the stucco figure of Jambhala from Amarāvati in Āndhra Pradesh, *Purātattva*, No. 6, (1972-73), pp. 76-78.
11. N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmāṇical Sculptures in the Decca Museum*, (Calcutta, 1929), Pl. XI(b) I, A. (iv)a.(i). The inscription reads : Jambhala Jale (ndra) Ya svaha (Bhattasali, *Op. cit.*, p. 35).
12. Jambhala emanated from Akṣobhya, according to *Sādhanamālā* in *yab-yum*. The images of Jambhala are to be met with in the Gandhāra, Mathura, Sarnath, Magadha, Bengal and Nepal sculptures. Jambhala is known in Tibet (A. Getty), *The Gods af Northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1914), p. 159, and Peiping (Bhattacharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 179).
13. Jambhala is connected with wealth and is said to distribute gems, jewels and riches to his devotees. Again, *Ratnasaṁbhava* means 'Jewel born' whom Jambhala god of wealth call his sire.
14. According to *Vajratārā Maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvali*, in the Dhyāni Buddha Ratna Saṁbhava is the spiritual sire of Vajratārā (vide also Bhattacharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 240)
15. Bhattacharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 238, figs. 176-78.
16. *Sādhanamālā*, A-93, N-65, C-72.
17. Bhattasali, *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-57 and Pl. XXI.
18. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam, A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh* (Hyderabad, 1964), Pl. XXXII. At Salihundam Tantric icons like *Marīchī, Mañjuśrī, Buddha, Tārā* etc., were discovered.
19. "*Haritāṁ Amogasidhimukutīṁ varadotpaladhāridakṣiṇa vāmakaram, Aśoka-kāntā-Marīcy-Ekajaṭāvyagradakṣinavāmadigbhāgaṁ divya kumarim dhayatava....*" (*Sādhanamālā*, A-93, N-65, C-72).
20. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism, their History, Iconography and Progressive evolution through the Northern Buddhist countries*, (Tokyo, 1962, p. 123).
21. Bhattacharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 107; Bhattasali, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXI and Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXII.
22. Bhattasali, *Op. cit.*, 1. B(V)a.
23. *Sadhanamala*, A-112, N-80, C-87.
24. Ugratārā of Sikarpur, Pl. LXXI(a). Bhattasali, Tārā Tantra (page 11, 12 footnote) prose explanation of the Tārā from *Tārāhāsya Vrithi*. Tara of Sarkarpur tallies with the description. Bhattacharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 77 and 157.

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Jnana Visuddha from Amaravati

At Amarāvati (the famous Buddhist centre in Āndhra Pradesh), as a result of trial excavations in 1958-59 in the *Stūpa* area considerable number of *tantric* icons have been unearthed.[1] Some of them have been described in the previous chapter.[2] In the present article I intend to identify the precise form of Heruka discovered at Amarāvati with the help of the *Hevajrasādhana tantra*. We get descriptions of the different forms of Heruka in the *Hevajrasādhana tantra*[3] and the *Abhidhānottara tantra*,[4] besides those mentioned in *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvali*.[5]

The lime stone sculpture under study measures 10″×7″×3″ (*Plate XVII*) seen in *ardhaparyaṇka* attitude with the sole of right foot pressed against the ankle of the left leg. He is well clad in human skin. He holds the *vajra* in his right hand and the *kapāla* in his left. The *khaṭvāṇga* hangs from his left shoulder. He wears *kuṇḍalas*, necklace of bones sewn by guts, *yagñopavīta*, *prakoṣṭavalayas* and *mekhala*. His hair rises upward and forms into a crown. His bloodshot eyes are terrible to look at. The lower garment (*antarīya*) which extends upto the ankles is secured by *mekhala*.

This image tallies with the description of *Jñānaviśuddha*, one of the forms of Heruka mentioned in the *Hevajrasādhana tantra*. It says :—

Ekamukhaṁ jñānaviśuddhaṁ dvibhujaṁ śūnyatākaruṇā
Viśuddhaṁ, dakṣhiṇatho vajramabhedyajñānapratipādakaṁ,
Vāme kapāla khaṭvāṇgaṁ cha khaṭvāṇgaṁ prajñāshvabhāva—
rupaṁ, kapālaṁ bodhicitta pradipādakam.

(*Hevajrasādhana tantra*, p. 24A).

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According to the *Hevajrasādhana tantra*, jñānaviśuddha is one faced and two armed. He holds the *vajra* in his right hand and the *kapāla* in his left. The *khaṭvāṇga* hangs from his left shoulder. The *Hevajrasādhana tantra* from which this description is quoted, states that the *vajra* symbolises "*abhedyajñāna*" or the knowledge of oneness in every thing. The *khaṭvāṇga* symbolises "*prajñā*" or the Highest Knowledge and the *kapāla* stands for the "*Bodhicitta*" or the Will to Enlightenment. The present icon of *jñānaviśuddha* is probably the first of its kind in southern Buddhism.

Born in the family of Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya, Heruka in no way differs from the famous Buddhist deity Hevajra to whose worship many Buddhist *tantras* are dedicated. Heruka or Hevajra is an object of common worship in the countries like Nepal and Tibet. Heruka is either represented singly or in a *yab-yum* (in the embrace of *Śakti*)[6]. When single, Heruka stands on a corpse or on the prostrate figure of Bhairava and his consort Kalaratri in either *ālīḍha* or the *pratyālīḍha* attitude or dances in *ardhaparyaṇka* attitude. When single, Heruka may have one to three faces and from two to six hands. Different forms have different names in consonance with the principal idea, or symbolism, they represent. The three faces of Heruka, for instance, are said to represent the three instruments of humanity, *viz.*, body, mind and speech. The symbolism really teaches that the cognition of both existence and non-existence is not real but imaginary and it is only when the reality ceases that the right knowledge is produced. According to the latter Buddhists, the *Śūnya* is the only reality and every thing else is mere manifestation of the great substratum called *Śūnya*.

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1. The *tantric* icons under study were discoved during the trial excavations in the vicinity of *Mahā-chaitya* at Amarāvati (North Latitude 16°34′45″; East Longitude 80°24′26″) a small placid village situated 33 kms. away from Guntur in Āndhra Pradesh. The excavations were conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India (*IAR*, 1958-59), *p. 5, Pls.* 1B, 1C, 1D.

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2. Vide Dr. K. Krishna Murthy, "Some tantric icons from Amarāvati in Āndhra Pradesh", *Itihās*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 11-21.
3. Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his learned article "Iconography of Heruka" describes the different forms of Heruka as quoted in the *Hevajrasādhana tantra* and *Abhidhānottara tantra*. The *Hevajrasādhana tantra* gives different forms of Heruka or Hevajra like jñānaviśuddha, Sahajanātha, Satparamitāviśuddha, Acintyajñāna (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, July, 1935, No. 2; pp. 24-27).
4. The forms of Heruka or Hevajra mentioned in the *Abhidhānottara tantra* are the Buddhakapālin, Mañjuvajra, (both in single and in yab-yum), Mahāsukha, Heruka, Raudrabhūṣaṇa, Vikṛtānana, Samvarottama, Samayottama, Yoginī-prabhu, Mahāvajra, Pañcānana, Vajra heruka, Samvaravajra, Sadvajra, Suratasrī, Herukottama, Praṇavaḍāka, Nīlogra, Āliḍāka, Vajradaka, Buddhadaka, Ratnadaka, Padmadaka, Visvodaka, pp. 24-34).
5. For the forms of description of Heruka described in Sādhanamālā and Niṣpannayogāvali vide B. Bhattacharya "*The Indian Buddhist Iconography*," (Calcutta, 1968), p. 156ff.
6. N.K. Bhattashali, "*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmāṇical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, (Delhi, 1972, pp. 35-37) and Alice Getty, the *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 142-143. Also see paper read by B. Bhattacharya before the 8th session of the *Indian Oriental Conferences* held in Baroda in December, 1933.

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18

Origin of Caitya

The word *Caitya*[1] (*Cetiya* in Pali) is derived from the word *citi* which actually means a funeral pyre. It also connotes various meanings like shrine, sacred tree, cenotaph, holy spot, etc. Kern observes in his '*Manual of Indian Buddhism*' that all edifices bearing the character of sacred monuments are *caityas*, but not all *caityas* are edifices. However, the earliest reference to it, we find in the *Rgveda*[2] wherein it points out to the credence among the Aryans that the spirits of the dead enter the plants and trees and perhaps due to the conception of this kind the Aryans planted trees upon the graves. In Vedic literature, the word *Caitya* is connected to the word *Cayana*, which means something piled up. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* renders *Citya* as that which could be availed for *Cayana*. Evidently, the expression *Citya* has been derived from the original expression *Caitya*.[3] The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* profusely refers to the term *Agni-citya* to which offerings are made.[4]

Again, the *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra* speaks of *Caitya Yajña*, a sacrifice performed as the Vedic ritual. The *bali* is offered to *Caitya* which may mean a shrine or icon in the shrine. If the *Caitya* is located in a distant place, the *bali* is sent through a leaf-messenger.[5]

The subsequent epics the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* also speak of *Caityas*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* informs that Rāma could see the Kośala country beautified with *Caityas* and *Yūpas*.[6] Besides, the terms like *Caitya gṛhas*, *Caitya-prāsādas* or *Caitya-vṛkṣas*[7] occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The palace of Rāvaṇa is described as *Caitya-prāsāda*. It

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is said to consist of *vedikas*, terraces, coral stairs, thousand pillars and a high roof.[8]

The *Mahābhārata* associates the word *Caitya* with Vedic *yajña*. It asserts that the country was full of *Caityas* and *Yūpas*.[9] In the *Mahābhārata*, *Caitya* stands to mean also a tree.[10] It is believed that Gods, *Yakṣas*, *Nāgas*, *Gandharvas* and devils resort to *Caitya*. It is a place of veneration as it is the abode of both good and bad spirits. The crematoriums are said to have been shrouded by the banyan tree. The *caitya* being a sacred tree, is planted originally on the grave, after the body was cremated. Thus, the *Caityas* were originally Brahmāṇical institutions.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya teems with allusions to *Caityas*. It was still a popular institution common for the people of all the sects. The word *Caitya* has been used in the sense of a shrine with an icon worshipped in it.[11] Elsewhere, he even refers to *pūja* offered to *Caityas* by the people in order to avoid evil attack of demons.[12]

Manu[13] speaking about the *Caitya* in the sense of a Tree advocates that *candalas* should have their residences under *Caitya*-trees in the burial grounds. According to Yājñavalkya[14] they (*caitya*) served as boundaries of *grāma* or *janapadas* and felling of branches of trees (*caityas*) is prohibited by him. In some cases the *Caitya-vṛkṣas* served as boundaries to gardens and fields.[15]

The references to *Caityas* (*Ceiyas*), in the Jain literature are copious. The *Ācārāṇga-Sūtra* uses the word *ceiya* in the sense of structure for Jain monks to dwell in and a *stūpa*[16]. The festivals in the honour of Ceyas are also spoken of.[17]

In the Buddhist literature *Caitya* came to be used as cult-object but not exclusively as a funeral relic.[18] The *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta* alludes to them (*Caityas*) as the general feature of the religious life of the time. The Buddha himself declares while addressing to the people of Vaisali that "so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines (*Cetiyāni*) in town or country and allow not the proper offerings and rites formerly given and performed to fall in desuctude . . . . . they shall prosper.[19] In the *Mahā-*

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parinibbāna Sutta the Buddha speaks of the efficiency of erecting *dhātu caityas* and himself visited *Caityas* like *Udena*, *Gotama*, *Sattambaka* etc., revealing them thereby as per-Buddha institutions.[20] Besides, the *Dīgha-Nikāya* shows that Buddha lived at the *Ānanda-Cetiya* in Bhojanagara.[21]

According to the *Sumaṇgala Vilāsinī*, *Caityas* were known to be *Yekka Cetiyāni i.e. Caityas* dedicated to *Yakṣas*. As per Rhys Davids they were shrines of per-Buddhist worship.[22] Interestingly, the Buddhist divine Nāgasena in his work *Milinda Pañha*, refers to 'God-haunted' shrines.[23] His reference to Buddhist shrine as god-haunted is noteworthy and becomes difficult to explain as to how a Buddhist divine could make this reference. At innumerable places the Buddhist *Suttas* have pointed out to the shrines of the Gangetic valley. Most of them are *Caityas* which are essentially pre-Buddhistic. It may be inspiring to note that *Brahmajāla-Sutta* speaks of the deities which Buddha condemned. It refers to the worship of the Fire, the Sun, the Great one and the Goddess of Luck *Siri*. But these *Suttas* do not reveal whether the deities referred to, were worshipped in a temple. Instances are not, however, lacking to show that the other deities whose worship was condemned by the Buddha, had received attention of the *Suttas*. In fact the *Amba Sutta* points out clearly that God *Agnī* was benedicted.

Thus, the *Caityas* were originally of the *Brahmāṇical* incipience and subsequently they were appropriated by the Buddhist with all their later appendages. As such, the *Caityas* cannot be counted as exclusively of the Buddhistic origin.

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2. *Rgveda*; Griffith's Translation, Vol. IV.
3. *IHQ*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 440-452; Also see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica), VI, 1.2.16.

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4. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 5.1.8.1.
5. *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtras*, Bk. 1.12-1.3; Cf. Oldenberg, *SBE*, Vol. XXIX, p. 178.
6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 11.3.18.
7. *Ibid.*, V. 12.15; V. 43.3; 11.3.18.
8. W. Hopkins, *The Epic Mythology*, pp. 70-73; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indonesian Art*, p. 48. Even according to *Gurubāla Prabhodika*, a commentary on *Amara*, *Caitya* is only a building as it is the result of the collection or putting together of stones (*chiyate pāshāna dinecaityam*). According to this work, the word *caitya* is derived from the root *chinchayane*—to collect. P.K. Acharya, *Mānasāra*, *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, p. 178.
9. *MBH*, 11.3.12.
10. *MBH*, BK. XII, 50—"He should also cut down all the small trees excepting those trees called '*caityas*'. He should not touch its very leaves. The same Epic even prohibits the felling of the trees that are known as *caityas*".
11. *Arthaśāstra*, BK. 111, 18; V. 2; XII. 5.
12. *Ibid.*, BK. IV, Chap. 3.
13. *Manu*, X.50.
14. *Yājñavalkya*, 11.151; 11.228.
15. *Manu*, 11.4 and 35.
16. *Ācārāṇga Sūtra*, 2.1.2. *Su*; 80, pp. 366-67; 12.1.3.3, p. 352.
17. *Ibid.*, 2.1.1.2; p. 328.
18. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 63.
19. Rhys Davids, *The Dialogues of Buddha*, Vol. II, p. 80
20. *Mahāparinibhāna Sutta*, Ch. p. 111, 36-47; Fleet, J. *JRAS*, (1906), p. 657f; B.C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 100; See also Krishna Murthy, K., The Great decease (death) of Buddha, *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIX (1963-64), Parts 1 and 2, p. 53f.
21. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 11, p. 113; B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix.
22. Rhys Davids, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 110.
23. *SBE*, Vol. XXXV.

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Consecration of Relics in the South Indian Stupas

The vertex objects of veneration for the Buddhists are the three jewels *triratna* or *ratnatraya*, the *Buddha*, the *Dharma* and the *Saṇgha*. Apart from them, there are other material objects of worship to which more honour is paid. They are the relics of the holy persons and the monuments erected to their memory by the piety of the ardent Buddhists. All such objects or *dhātus* have been divided into three classes —*Śārīraka*, bodily relics *viz.*, bones, hairs, nails, *Uddeśika*—memorials and *Pāribhogika*—head-dress, garments, bowls or the tree under which Buddha achieved *samādhi* and the like.

It is a traditional belief that the senile corporal relics are the hairs which the Buddha gave to the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika after their conversion[1]. Later, in the 7th century B.C., the devoted merchants have received from the Lord not only some hairs and nails but his bowl, stick and three garments. The Simhalese claim possession of the hair relics almost as old as those of the aforesaid two merchants. The handful of hair bestowed by the Jina on Sumanas, the chief of Gods deposited relic in a golden casket which was enshrined in a *Stūpa* of *Sapphire*[2]. In north India, many cities like kanouj, Kausambi, Mathura etc., boast of accrediting the possession of hairs and nails of *tathāgata* with *stūpas* erected over the relics.[3]

The early Buddhist canonial text informs that when the Buddha was about to enter the *Mahāparinibbāna* at Kuṣhināra, Ānanda expresses his sole desire to worship his corporal remanants (*Bhagavato*

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Śarīrāṇi) later on. The Buddha disapproving his idea warned Ānanda to desist from any such hasty action because *Tathāgata's* material body was also subject to decay and the ultimate disappearance and that the *Dharma* stands supreme and abiding. When Buddha passed away on the bed laid between the two Mahāśāla trees, the Mallas of Kuṣhināra worshipped his corporal remains with incense, flowers etc. profusely. After the cremation, the remanants were divided in 10 parts (*Bibhattāni Bhagavato Śarīrāṇi*) and distributed amongst kings Ajātasatru of Magadha, Licchavis of Vaisali, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kolies of Rāmagāma, the Brāhmaṇas of Petthadi paka, Mallas of Pavaveyyaka, the Mallas of Kuṣhināra, Brāhmaṇa, Droṇa and the Moriyas of Piplivana. At Kuṣhināra, itself, the Buddha had told the *Bikkus* the way in which the *stūpa* were to be erected and worshipped for a *Chakavati* like him. The erection and veneration of such *stūpas* ensure immense happiness, welfare and high sptritual attainment to the worshippers. Thus, the veneration of these relics during the 6th century B.C., paved the way for the traditional relic worship through the succeeding ages to the present day. After the Kalinga war, Aśoka was greatly inclined towards Buddhism as is evident from the minor rock edict at Bariot. He had a keen desire to erect 84,000 relic stūpas all over his empire. Such-wise the tooth relic that came to Kalinga Nagara or the modern Kalingapatnam had an eventual history commemorated in *Daladavaṁśa*.[4]

A few relics were carried to Ceylon and embedded in the *stūpa* at Anuradhapura and Ruanweli. It appears, the bones of Kaśyapa Buddha were deposited under a *stūpa* at Srāvasti[5]. Like-wise, the relics of the disciples and other saints are innumerable. Near Vaisali, Fahian saw a *stūpa* raised over the one half of the Ānanda's body, the other half having remained as a relic in Magada[6]. The city of the Mathura possesses *stūpa* erected in honour of Shariputra Moudgalāyana etc., with their relics. Like *Śārīraka* relics the *Pāribhogika dhātus* are also held in veneration by the Buddhist. All these objects, be it a remanant, a bowl, a staff are no less worshipped than the bone relics. But it is difficult to say when those holy remains commenced to be religiously venerated.

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Such relics be it *Śārīraka*, *Pāribhogika* or *Uddeśika* are in evidence all over India. If we speak of South India alone, we see number of *stūpas* both *Śārīraka* and *Uddeśika* and with little number of *Pāribhogika* erected at several places, particularly along the river valleys of Vaṁśadhāra, Sārada, Godāvarī and Kṛishṇa. The *stūpas* exposed at salihundam, Sankaram, Kottur, Garikapādu, Gudivāda, Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Ghaṇṭaśāla, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are either *Śārīraka* or *Uddeśika* stūpas.

At Bhattiprolu, a village in Repalle taluq of Guntur District, a magnificent *stūpa* with 132 feet dome and the base of 148 feet, all of complete solid bricks is exposed to view. Three relics caskets were recovered from the centre of the *stūpa*.

At Ghaṇṭaśāla, in Kṛishṇa District was exposed a *stūpa* of solid brick built structures and this *stūpa* gave caskets from its centre.[7] A smaller earthern pot with a semi-circular knobbed lid was recovered. This contained a small stone ware pot which in turn took in two small pieces of bones, a crystal bead, pearls and some gold flowers.[8]

The excavations at Salihundam, a placid village in Srikakulam District yielded three crystal reliqueries in stone caskets from the *Mahā-chaitya*[9] and four silver caskets kept in terracotta recepticle from the *stūpa* north or the *mahā-chaitya*.[10] The relics recovered from the *Mahā-chaitya* were obtained from its centre where as the other *stūpas* yielded relics along the drum or periphery.

At Gudivada, twenty miles north-west of Masulipatnam was exposed a *stūpa* which gave four crystal reliqueries kept separately each in stone casket.[11] The description of these caskets tallies well with the caskets found in the upper part of the Bhattiprolu *stūpa*. It has been stated that the relics of Gudivada *stūpa* were recovered from the four corners of the *stūpa*.

The relics of the Amarāvati *stūpa*[12] were kept in five crystal caskets of which four resembled the miniature *stūpas* while the remaining one at the shape of *karaṇḍaka*. As noticed at Bhattiprolu, each casket had a relic inside along with the other paraphernelia such

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as gold flowers, pearls, coral beads etc. Interestingly, all these five casket were kept in the slots provided in the southern *āyaka* platform of the *Mahā-chaitya*. The contention that Mahādeva Bikku, an envoy sent by Aśoka visited Māhiṣa maṇḍala and also instigated the ruling princess of Sātavāhana dynasty at Dhānyakaṭaka or modern Amarāvati and erected the mighty *stūpa* over the original relic of Buddha seems to be confirmed by the reliquery of these five crystal caskets from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. The same envoy is believed to have gone to Pallabogga, the modern Palnād and erected another *stūpa* over the corporal relics of Buddha at Nāgārjunākoṇḍa. From there it is stated that the envoy proceeded to Anurādhapura to enshrine the relics in the *stūpa*.

Both *Śārīraka* and *Uddeśika stūpas* are in evidence at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Mr. Longhurst[13] and Ramachandran[14] in their earlier excavation could recover relic caskets from the *stūpas* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. As a result of the recent excavations[15] there, a relic casket from a *stūpa* of site No. 8 has been picked up.

Interestingly, the study of the relic casket affords an interesting data. Hitherto, it has been known that generally such relic caskets are embedded in the centre of the *stūpa*. The excavations at Salihundam and Amarāvati revealed that the relic caskets could be enshrined even along the drum portions or at the *āyaka* platforms. The four relic caskets recovered at Salihundam were disclosed along the periphery of the *stūpa*. At Amarāvati, the five relic caskets were recovered from the southern *āyaka* platform.[16] These relic caskets are generally shaped as a miniature representation of *stūpa* or *karaṇḍaka*. They contain bone relics, *swarṇa puṣhpas*, coral beads and *navaratnas*. All these will generally be kept in a recepticle that will go into the bigger once which are either of stone, terracotta or clay. Mr. Dikshit[17], while studying the caskets from the Tripuri classifies them by a general nomenclature *Mañjūśa* which means a box or recepticle for storing *Samudagaka* or *karaṇḍaka*.

Mention is made in the inscription found on the casket No. 1 at Bhattiprolu about *Mañjūśa* and *Samudagaka* in connection with the contents with the same reliquery from the Buddhist *stūpa*

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at Bhattiprolu. In all probability, *Mañjūśa* represented larger vessel while *Samudagaka* denoted smaller one.

The inscriptions on relic caskets is of a intrinsic value as they help in knowing the date or the purport of the *stūpa*. Among the inscriptions on relic caskets from interior of the Buddhist *stūpas*, we have earliest record on the steatite or soap stone vase from Piprawa,[18] the oldest known Indian record deposited perhaps within the century after the death of the Buddha. The *Stūpa* No. 3 at Sanchi[19] at Bhopal state, Central India yields a two steatite relic caskets which bear on the inner surface of the lids, the letters *Sa* and *Ma*. Similarly, the caskets of the Soneri[20] (*Stūpa* No. 2), Sanchi (*Stūpa* No. 2), Andhar (Stūpa No. 2[21] and 3[22]) Satdhana[23] etc., contained inscriptions. To speak of the *stūpas* of South India, Bhattiprolu *stūpa* contains three inscribed stone relic recepticles[24] bearing nine short records.[25] Two of the inscriptions mention a king whose name appears both as *Kueraka* and as *Kuberaka* and two of the others speak of relics of Buddha. These relics on palaeographic ground can be ascribed to 225 to 200 B.C.

The relics enshrined in the stūpas have come down to us as objects of vertex adoration and aprobation to the ardent devotees of Buddhism and relic festival was observed with great pomp and splendour through the ages. The worship of the relic however is the most senile festival. It has been prevalence since the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha. In *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Buddha himself indirectly informs Ānanda the necessity of worshipping the relics of holy men and of resplendent Buddha. It was understood that adoration of the relic was the worship of Buddha himself in person. So the Buddhist through the generations, celebrated the relic festival greatly and venerate the Buddha. The emperor Aśoka, it was told, from time to time was making over his royal duties to his ministers and worshipped the relic shrine of the Master.[26] Subsequent Buddhist emperors also observed this relic festival with array and solomnity. In fact, *Dathavaṁśa*[27] describes the wars waged for the possession of the tooth-relic by the rulers of the day.

The Chinese traveller Fa-hien[28] has left vivid account of the

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tooth-relic festival of the Buddha during 5th century A.D. According to him, the tooth-relic festival was celebrated in the middle of the 3rd month of the year. Promenada was carried on, in a well garnished elephant and narrated the life and celebrities of Buddha by playing on a large drum. After the proclamation, the kind arranged an exhibition portraying the previous births of Buddha on either sides of the roads. On the final day, the tooth-relic of Buddha was taken in procession through the city main streets and as it passed by, the people on both sides, threw sweet scented water and flower wreaths. The *bhikkus* chanted *Suttas*, lighted lamps day and night and ceremonies were performed for ninety days. At the closure of the ceremony, the relics would be kept in their original place. Hieun Tsang[29] also informs that the tooth-relic of Buddha was cleansed by the king daily three times with perfumes, powders and milk. Such was the reverence and implicit faith the Buddhists held towards the relics.

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3. *Voy.*, 11, 210, 216, 265, 268, 277, 287 and 406.
4. Composed about 310 A.D. and translated into Pāli in A.D. 1200 under the title of *Dathavaṁśa*.
5. *Voy.* 1, 126, *Rec.* 63.
6. *Rec.* 72; 76: *CP.Ter.*, p. 9.
7. Alexander Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, (Madras, 1894), p. 18.
8. Rea, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XVII, figs. 1 & 2.
9. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1919-20; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, p. 135.
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14. T.N. Ramachandran, *Nagarjunakonda*, 1938, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 71, (Delhi, 1938).
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16. Even at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in one of the stūpas (stupa No. 9) the relic casket which was missed at the centre, was discovered in later excavations at periphery of the stūpa.
17. M.G. Dixit, *Excavations at Tripuri*—1952.
18. *JRAS*, 1906, 149; 1905-105.
19. A. Cunningham, *Bilas Tope*, 297 & Pl. 22.
20. *Ibid.*, 121, 317a, Pl. 24 and also see *JRAS*, 1905-681.
21. *C.B.T.*, 347 and *OL* 29 No. 3.
22. *C.B.T.*, 349 and *Pl.* 30 No. 6.
23. *C.B.T.*, 324 and Pl. 25 No. 4, 5.
24. *ASI.*, 5, Pl. 3.
25. *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. 6, p. 148.
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27. *Dathavaṁśa*, No. 284, 286, 287, 295-299.
28. Fa-Hien, pp. 105-107.
29. Hieun-Tsang, *EK.*, XI, p. 248.

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20

The Cult of Buddha-Pada

In the early phase of Buddhism, the worship of personality cult was regarded as inimical to the practice of spiritual discipline. The Buddha himself had, throughout his life, condemned the tendency on the part of his disciples to build up around his personality, a cult or personal worship. He had throughout insisted on the significance of following his teachings as the only means of attaining the *Summum-bonum of Nirvāṇa* through personal efforts, individual spiritual exercises and contemplation or meditation. Therefore, it was never the practice to represent Buddha in the anthropomorphic form in the early period.

Buddha has been represented symbolically, in the early Indian art in the form of *Bodhi-tree, triratna, svastika, Buddha-pāda* and the like. The cult of *Buddha-pāda* has an early origin. However, the earliest lithic representation of Buddha's foot-prints was from the ancient site, Pataliputra[1] which appears to be as old as that of Aśoka's time (250 B.C.). The foot-prints are seen surrouned by stone railings which fact suggests that it could have been a shrine for enshrining the Buddha's foot-prints. This testified that the cult or the worship of the foot-prints of Buddha may have come to be established before the time of Aśoka. In sculptural art at Barhūt, in the various scene where the presence of Buddha is sought to be indicated by, the pair of foot-prints is represented at the foot of the platform (*Bodhi-maṇḍa*).,[2] Similarly, at Sanchi,[3] on the eastern gate, in one of the sculptures the scene depicting Chandaka taking his final leave of his master, the latter is represented by a pair of foot-prints. Again, on the foot of

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the left pillar of the north gate (circa 100-150 B.C.) occurs a pair of foot-prints in conjunction with the Tree of Life, mounted by the wheel (*cakra*) and *Nandi-pāda* symbol. Almost in similar combination the foot-prints occur at Amarāvati, datable to A.D. 200.

In fact, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa during the course of excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India,[4] a monastic establishment with a four winged monastery, *stūpa* and a *chaitya-gṛha* was exposed. In this connection, reference was made to the discovery of inscribed *Buddha-pāda* in lime-stone near the entrance of the *stūpa* (*Plate XVIII*).

The salient feature of this monastery is its deviation from the usual plan of the monastic complex, invariably followed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The usual monastic plan that followed consisted of a main *stūpa*, a *Buddha-chaitya*, a *stūpa-chaitya*, a pillared hall in the centre and cells all around. But in this *vihāra*, the *stūpa* takes the central place within brick enclosure and is flanked by *chaitya-gṛha* and votive *stūpas* and all around by *vihāra* wings. This is the only site different in the plan from the other.[5]

The inscription on the base of the *Buddha-pāda* records[6] (*Plate XVIII*) that the sacred feet were of Buddha and were designed and consecrated by or for the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the *Theravāda vibhajjavāda* school of Ceylon in a *Vihāra* described as *Dharaṇi vihāra*, situated on the *Praveṇi*. The *Mahāvihāravāsins* are described as adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes, which constitute the eighth *sasana* of the *navaṇga*, promulgated by Buddha.

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa slab under reference becomes the representation of the two soles of two feet placed side by side with that of the Bodhi tree in railing, flanked by two human figures on one side. The most prominent symbol engraved on each of the soles is *Chakra*. Behind this are—an *Aṇkuśa*, a *Nāga* symbol, a *triratna* on *Chakra* and a pair of fish with a *Śaṇkha* near by, while in the front of it are two Naga symbols, a *Svastīka*, a *Srīvasta* and a *Pūrṇaghaṭa* with a *Śaṇkha* near it. The five toes in front of the above bear respectively a *staṁbha*,

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an *aṇkuśa*, another indeterminable symbol, a pair of fish and a *triratna* on *chakra*. Such was the importance given to the *Pāduka-vandana* of the Buddha during 3rd-4th centuries A.D. Similar foot-print slabs, sometimes uninscribed and sometimes bearing inscriptions, have been discovered at Sanchi, Amarāvati, Ghaṇṭaśāla, Jaggayyapeta, etc.[7]

However, the Canonical literature does not prescribe the worship of the foot-prints (*Vestigiapedium*), although there are various passages in early Pāli literature, describing devotees touching the feet of the Lord in adoration.[6] "Come now Brāhman do go to exhalted one and bow down in adoration at His feet on my behalf and enquire in my name whether he is free from illness and sufferings and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health".[8] These are numerous passages in the *Divyāvadāna* of which one may be cited by way of an example. "He approached the blessed one and having approached him saluted him at his feet and then took his seat in a corner."[9] The only reference to worship of the feet is the one in the *Apadana*, which relates how the *Thera* named *Padasannaka* owed his spiritual insight in the dispensation of the Buddha of the present age to the homage he has paid to one of the mythical Buddhas named *Tissa*.[10] According to the testimony of the Huan Tsang there was a temple near Pataliputra enshrining the Buddha's foot-prints. According to the tradition, when the Buddha was leaving the Magadha for the last time on his way north to Kuṣhināra. He stood on this stone and turned round to take a farewell look at Magadha. He left his foot-prints on it and these were still distinctly visible at the time of the pilgrims visit. He further says that they were 18" long 6" wide. On the right and left sides there were wheels or discs each of the ten toes had artistic venation. The lamination was distinct and at times shed the bright light. When Aśoka removed to Pataliputra, he had the foot-prints stone put under a cover, and as it was near the capital, he was constantly praying it.[11] Aśoka's veneration of these foot-prints appear to be a sentimental veneration of a vestige associated with the Buddha, rather on a regular cult-worship like that of the *stūpa* or the *Bodhi-tree*.

Fahian (A.D. 399) and Song Yun (A.D. 518) refer to a tower

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erected at Sanghashi 'where there are certain marks and impressions left on the stones by the feet of the different Buddhas'. The *Mahāvaṁśa* twice refers to the foot-prints of the Buddha at Adam's peak with great distinctness. The foot-prints is supposed to have been discovered about 90 B.C. by the king Walagambahu who on hunting expedition was led to the holy foot-prints by a stag.

Among the numerous relics of Buddhist monuments at Gandhāra occur a few representations of the foot-prints (now housed in the Lahore Museum). Since they are very few in number they do not seem to suggest a very popular cult of the foot-prints being current in Gandhāra in early times. But Fian Tsang has referred to two shrines of the foot-prints in Swat valley. In the Mahāvana monastery nearby there was a large square stone on which were the foot-prints.[12]

It is apparent that there is very little doubt that the cult of the foot-prints grew up sometime after the time of Aśoka, which called for the representation of the foot-prints in sculptural relief of the early phase of the Buddhism. Buddha's foot-prints bearing marks can be traced in Burma from about 11th century A.D. to the present day and the figures representing the auspicious marks change in there style from time to time. As a developed cult, it has been very popular in Burma as attested by a prayer in honour of the foot-prints, which children are taught to recite at night before going to bed. According to Burmese traditions, these foot-prints had been left by the Buddha before his *Nirvāṇa*.[13] It may be of great historical interest to note that the growth in number of marks in the Buddha's foot-prints is also gradual and is clearly perceptible. According to the *Lakkhana-Sutta* of the *Digha-Nikāya* the only mark on each sole of the Budha is a wheel with thousand spokes.[14] The *Buddhavaṁśa* adds to it a streamer, a *vajra*, a flag, a *vaddhamana* and a goad. Later, the *Aṭṭhakatha* of the *Mahāpadana Sutta* spoke of many other marks in addition, but the traditional number 108 not yet been reached. It was completed by *Jinālankāra-tika* and *Anagatavamsa-aṭṭhakatha*. The commentary on the *Mahāpadana Sutta* belongs to the 5th century A.D. and later commentary on *tika* belong to about 8th-11th centuries A.D. and there is a difference of many years between them and the original

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Sutta and the *Budhavaṁśa*. A similar growth may be noticed in the sculptured slabs. The foot-prints on the gate-ways at Sanchi and Barhūt are devoid of any marks except the wheel in the centre. The Amarāvati foot-prints adds to it *Svastika*, flowers and a few other symbols. In later periods the additions of the number of marks are quite gradual and clear and by 5th-6th centuries A.D., the traditional number of 108 seemed to have been reached. Similarly, the elaborately carved foot-prints, with all the auspicious marks, in the great Watpo temple at Bangkok further testifies the popularity of the cult of the *Buddha-pāda*. Thus, the vestiges of the growth of the *Buddha-pāda* cult can be visualised persistently through the ages.

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4. The Archaeological Survey of India conducted large-scale excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Āndhra Pradesh) during 1954-60 as a sequel to the proposed construction of the dam near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Also see *Indian Archaeology, 1955-56, A Reveiw*, p. 24.
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Text

1. *Sidhaṁ āchariyanaṁ Theriyanaṁ Vibhaja—Vādanaṁ Kasmīra-Gandhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tamba-Pamṇidīpa-Pāsādakānāṁ.*
2. *Mahāvihāra-Vāsinaṁ nava (—m) ga—Sathu Sasanaaṭhavyajana-Vinichhaya-Visāradānāṁ arīya va(m) sa paveṇi dharanaṁ.*
3. *Vihāre Bhagavatapāda Samghada nipatiṭhapitosva-Satanamhita-Sukha-athanayati.*

Translation

Let there be succeess. The pair of feet of the Lord (*i.e.* Buddha) has been installed with the prayer for the welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are *Theriyas* (*i.e. Thera-vādins*) and *Vibhajja-*

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vadas (*i.e. Vibhajja-vādins*), who caused delight to (*i.e.* converted to the Buddhist doctrine) (the people of) Kasmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tammrapaṇi dvīpa, who are the residents of the Great Monastery; who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachinges of the Sastri (*i.e.* the Buddha), and who know the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart.

7. Cf. Marshall, Sanchi, Plates LXXXVIII, 22b, 75b, LXXXVII, 69a, LXXXII, 42b; Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 97ff. and Plates XLIII, 14; LII, 6 and 8; LIII, 1; *MASI*, No. 54 (*Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*), Plate XIXa; O.C. Gangoly, *Andhra Sculptures*, 1973, Hyderabad, p. 36; Allan, *Catalogue of Coins* (*Ancient India*), pp. c, ci, cl, 131, 158-69, 273, etc.
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Purna Ghata

Pūrṇa ghaṭā[1] in the great latitude of Sanskrit language has many other synonyms like *Pūrṇakalaśa, Pūrṇakuṁbha, Maṇgalakalaśa, Maṇgalaghaṭa, Bhadraghaṭa,* transfusing the hoary tradition of the Indian Literature.

In Vedic literature, the Full Vase is the symbol of fullness of life, plentitude and immortality. As early as in *Rgveda* a deep mystic significance is attached to the conception of *Pūrṇakalaśa.* The plentiful nature of the *kalaśa* is beautifully given expression to in the verse, *Ā Pūrṇoaśya kalaśaḥ sūaha* (overflowing is the vase of this man here. Glory to him).[2] The *kalaśa* is spoken of as *Somadhana, Soma*-recepticle etc.[3] as it is filled with soma or the container of the soma. The *kalaśa* in its overflowing aspect is called *āpipyāna,* that into which the shinning liquid soma rushed forth with all its potential powers. Elsewhere the full vase is invoked for manifold blessings and auspicious enjoyments. It is also called Bhadraghaṭa due to its sanctity associated with it.[4] In the *Atharvaveda* reference to the installation of *Pūrṇakuṁbha* in the household to propitiate the home deity *sala* is often alluded and a woman with full vase overflowing with clarified butter and blent with nector is oft commonly avered.[5] It is referred in the cosmic context as the firm substratum of time.[6]

In Indian religious thought the *Pūrṇa ghaṭa* is compared to human body. It is the common belief of the divinity as *ghaṭa-ghaṭa-vyāpaka i.e.* permeating each embodied form or ghata. Usually in the each household on every ceremonious occasion, the pūrṇaghaṭa is kept near the doorways. In marriages also in the kalyāṇa maṇḍapas the *pūrṇa ghaṭa* can be seen. In all these cases the *ghaṭa* as the

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representative of the human body is worshipped first. It is the *maṇgala kalaśa.*

It is also the symbol of fertility filled as it is with the fecund waters of life. In the child birth ceremony the pūrṇa ghaṭa plays very important role.

In Jain literature kalaśa is considered as one of the aṣṭamaṇgalas by the Digaṁbara sect.[7] The Buddhist literature invariably allude to the familiar conception of garnishing the house with full vase.[8] Interestingly *Pūrṇa kuṁbha kanya* is considered as one of the auspicious symbols in the Lumbini procession of queen Māyā Devī.[9]

In ancient days the offerings of the *Pūrṇa kuṁbha* is regarded as the most reverential welcome to the guest. The Gāthā Saptaśati makes frequent references to the filled pitchers flanking the doorways. This has been well expressed in the *kāvyas* of Kalidāsā. A verse from *Raghuvaṁśa*[10] says :—

Tasyādhikārapurushaihi Praṇataihi Pradiṣṭāṁ Prāgdvāra iedivini-veṣitapūrṇa Kuṁbhaṁ.

Ramyāṁ Raghupratinidhihi Sa Navopakāryāṁ Bālyāt Parāmiva Dasāṁ Madanoadhy Vasa.

In *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (IV.12) we get the fine picture of *Pūrṇaghaṭa* and wreath of blue lotuses in the pair of breasts and lovely dark eyes of the damsel, at the gate.[11] Coomaraswamy is of the opinion that originally even the *nadidevatas*, specially Gaṇgā and Yamunā on either side of the gate ways should have been represented symbolically by Pūrṇaghaṭas. Kalidāsā in *Kumāra Saṁbhava* says that the rivers Gaṇgā and Yamunā in actual human form flanked Śiva to attend on him with fly-whisks in their hands.[12]

Interestingly, the lithic representation of *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* is varied and meticulous. In Indian art, it is a recurrent motif appearing through the ages. At Barhūt, the depiction of *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* is realistic. On one of the medallions, a woman is seen associated with a Full Vase. In this, she is shown being poured with water over her head by a pair of

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elephants, while she is standing on a lotus.[13] At Sanchi Full Vase motif occurs in association with rising recurrent lotus creeper, in its usual early art repsentation. A plain pot with simple but repeated lotus leaves, flowered buds is again a common depiction at Sanchi.[14] In the sculptures of Sarnath the *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* depiction is copious. Particularly the full vase on a railing pillar is quite interesting.[15]

The delineation of *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at Amarāvati is splendid. The *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa*[16] with a garland *mekhala* garnished with rosetts and festoons one[17] with a meandering rhizome and the other which is more sophisticated[18] speak of the adroitness of the sculptor of the Amarāvati school of art in the carvings of the Full Vase motif. Interestingly the full vase in Mathura[19] Museum is decorated with a garland knotted in front.

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa it appears more than ones and it is often portrayed among other sculptures. Interestingly, a *Pūrṇa ghaṭa* has been discovered[20] from one of the Buddhist stūpas. It also gets symbolic representation in some of the stūpa slabs. In the recent excavations at Salihundam, a Buddhist site in Āndhra Pradesh, on a potsherd a finely incised *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* with an elephant has been noticed.[21] Likewise, the Pūrṇa-ghaṭa carved on *dantapalaka* (ivory plaque) of 3rd century A.D. at Kapisa (modern Bagram) near Kabul fig. 10 and the one depicted in the sculptures of Anurādhapur[22] in Ceylon brings home the popularity of this motif in art.

The Western Chālukyas signified two *Pūrṇa-ghaṭas* guarding the doorways as seen at Aihole, following the mode of symbolic representation of the rivers inherited from Sātavāhanas.[23]

Besides the Bodhisattva with Full Vase from Boro-Budur in Jāvā etc., of 8th century A.D. and *Pūrṇakalaśa* symbolised in human character by the eyes etc., marked on its body of the 15th century A.D.[24] referred in *Kalpasūtra* of the Jain manuscript carries the hoary tradition of the sculptural depiction of this popular motif. The fine example on the stūpa of Boro-Budur shows the maiden Sujātā approaching the Buddha with folded hands placing a *Pūrṇakalaśa* overflowing with lotus buds and flowers near his feet. The symbol of women carrying an auspicious Jar is one of the most charming motif of Indian Art.

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However, as it can be seen the beautiful example of a woman associated with the Full Vase is from Mathura. At Sanchi the Full Vase motif is associated with a rising lotus creeper At Amarāvati the lotus creeper becomes a meander with great elaboration of leaves and flowers. The full Vase represented at Kapisa on ivory plaque has close resemblances to that of Mathura example. The full vase motif at Amarāvati shows affinities with that of Mathura.

Thus, both in early Indian literature and art the Pūrṇaghaṭa motif plays significant role and affords a felicitous study.

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2. *Rgveda*, III. 92, 15.
3. *Rgveda*, VI. 69. 6; IX97.93.
4. *Etāni bhadra Kalaśa Kriyama*, Rg. X 329.
5. *Atharvaveda*, III, 12.1.7 and 8.
6. *Ibid*, XIX, 53.3 *Pūrṇaḥ kuṁbho Ādhi Kāla Ahitasthavai paśyamo bahudhanu santhah*. In the germ of Time is placed purnakumbha, this we behold manifesting in various forms. The word of creatures and of life owes its origin to this full vase which is the seed of Time.
7. *Tiloyupannatti*, 4.138, Vol. 1, p. 236. The *Aṣṭamaṇgalas* according to the Digaṁbara sect are *Bhṛngāra* (a type of vessel), *kalaśa* (the full-vase), *darpaṇa* (the mirror), *cāmara* (the flywisk), *dhvaja* (the banner), *vyajana*, (the fan), *chatra* (the umbrella) and *supratiṣṭha* (a seat).
8. *Dhammapada, Aṭṭhakatha*, 1.147.
9. *Lalitvistara*, Vaidya Edn. p. 71.
10. *Raghuvaṁśa*, v. 63; Trans. "Being guided thereto respectfully by the officers (of the Vidarbha king), the heir of Raghu occupied the beautiful new tent with auspicious overflowing pot placed at the Eastern entrance as cupid occupies the stage next to the boyhood".
11. Similar reference we get in *Gāthā Saptaśati*, II. 40.
12. *Kum*. VII.42. Mūrteecha Gaṇgāyamune Tadānīṁsa chāmare Devamase vishātāṁ Translation. Gaṇgā and Yamunā personified, then attended on the lord with chowries. The word murte is significant as it points out to the earlier tradition of symbolic representation by means of the pūrṇaghaṭa vide also *M.A.S.I.* No. 73.

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13. Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. XVII.
14. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1906-07, p. 79 and Pl. XXVIII, Coomaraswamy *Yakṣhas*, Part II, Pl. 32.
15. D.R. Sahni's Catalogue No. D (a) 1, (*Yakṣhas*, Pl. r32, fig. 2).
16. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣhas*, Pl. 29, fig. 1.
17. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpant Worship*, Pl. LXXXIX (*Yakṣhas*, Pl. 29, fig. 3).
18. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXVII (*Yakṣhas*, Pl. 32, fig. 2).
19. Mathura Museum, M 3; *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1909-10, Pl. XXVIII-a.
20. *Rūpa Lekha*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Fig. 13.
21. R. Subrahmanyam, Salihundam—A Buddhist site in Āndhra Pradesh. At Ghaṇṭaśāla a Buddhist site in Kṛishṇa district on a slab a Pūrṇaghaṭa with repeated lotus motif has also been discovered.
22. Recovered from M.J. Hackins excavations assignable to circa 3rd century A.D., Yakṣhas, Pl. 29, fig. 3.
23. C. Sivaramamurty, Early Eastern Chālukyan Sculpture—*Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, Vol. 11, No. 2. pp. 31ff.
24. Korm, The life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Borobudur, fig. 91 cf. Jātak 1, 93 where the merchant's daughters welcome the Buddha in the same way. (Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣhas*, Pl. II, Pl. 41, fig. 4) for fig. 14 refer the Kalp sūtra of the Jain manuscript. Also see Wilhelm Huttemann: Miniature Zum Jina Carita. Bassler Archin, Vol. 4 (1914), pp. 47-77. Brown (KSP, p. 12, n.s.) sugget that the association of eyes with the vessel of plenty (could) may indicate a vestigial representation of the Sun which see all and knows all. (cf. *Atharvaveda*, 19.53.3); *Rūpa Lekha*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, fig. 14.

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Multi-Coiled Ornaments

In early Indian art the multi-coiled ornament gets its portraiture in varied forms which include : (i) *karṇabhūsaṇas* (ear ornaments), (ii) *aṅgadas* (armlets), (iii) *prakoṣtha valayas* (wristlets or bracelets), (iv) *aṅgulīyakas* (finger-rings) and (v) *nūpuras* (leg ornaments). A sheet metal rolled up into several antithetic coils or spirals seemed to have comprised this ornament. Although the technique of manufacture of the ornament cannot be known directly from the sculptures, one can visualize the process of the ornament-making from the design of the ornament and the way in which they were worn. These multi-coiled ornaments were possibly flattened to a required breadth with a hammer and then coiled round in spirals.

(i) *Multi-coiled ear-ornament* (*karṇa bhūsaṇās*)

The multi-coiled ornament as an ear-ornament gets its depiction as early as in the Sanchi sculptures. An attendant is shown wearing a thick spiral which is possibly *sarpa-kuṇḍala*.[1] At Pitalkhora, it is represented more than once. A panel[2] depicting a prancing winged horse in the corner of the shorter side of the rhombus and two *yakṣas* in the cave number 3 of Pitalkhora reveals one of the *yakṣa* wearing a spiralled ear-ring. However, the best example of this type can be seen in the ear of corpulent male *yakṣa* figure[3] recovered from the same cave (*Fig. XXV, 1*). more elaborate form of this ornament is met with in *yakṣa* figure[4] portrayed as *dvārapāla*. Two heavy serpent-ornaments (*sarpa kuṇḍalas*) can be seen adorning the ear-lobes of the *yakṣa* (*Fig. XXV, 2*). Comparable example, similar to the figure *XXV, 1*

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comes from Karli. The ornament embellishes the ears of the donor couple.[5]

However, the fine example of this spiral like metal ring occurs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa decorating the ear-lobe of the dwarf illustrated on an ornate pillar besides a few other males and females elsewhere.[6] The ornament comprises of three coils, the upper one being put on the hole of the ear-lobe. Again, the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have yielded a pair of spiral ear-rings of gold from a megalith[7] (*Fig. XXV, 3*).

(ii) *Multi-coiled armlets* (*Aṅgada*)

This ornament appeared to have been very popular as is evident from its frequent depictions in the early Indian art. This type of ornament is exquisitely portrayed in the sculptures of Pitalkhora rock-cut caves. The *aṅgadas* decorating the arm of the *yakṣa*[8] discovered from the cave III of Pitalkhora present the best variety. A similar example is again met with in the armlets of a female dancer.[9] The specimens depicted in the Amarāvati sculptures[10] are very much akin to those found at Pitalkhora.

At Kanheri, the panel[11] depicting the donor couples illustrates the male donors with this kind of ornament. Interestingly, the specimens represented in the Mathura reliefs[12] exhibit a pleasing variety. Armlets shaped like a long crocodile are shown entwining the arms of the males (*Fig. XXV, 4 and 5*). However, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[13], the multi-coiled *aṅgada* has been represented only once. An amorous person depicted in the panel illustrating the Transport of the Relics wears this ornament. It is a very simple type of *aṅgada* presumably made of long strips of some metal rolled in coil resembling a snake. An elaborate and profuse depiction of this type of armlet occurs at Aihole, Bādāmī, Elorā, Elephanta, Māmallapuram and Pattadakal of later period.[14]

(iii) *Multi-coiled wrist-lets or bracelets* (*prakoṣṭha valayas*)

The depiction of this ornament is not uncommon in early Indian sculptures. Putting on a bracelet with many spirals which covered the hand nearly from elbow to wrist was the fashion of the day. The

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parallels of this are illustrated in Barhūt sculptures. In one instance,[15] a simple multi-coiled bracelet entwines almost half of the hand from the wrist (*Fig. XXV, 6*). In another case,[16] the end towards the elbow is shown terminated in the shape of a *tri-ratna* as illustrated in *Fig. XXV, 7.*

(iv) *Multi-coiled finger rings* (*aṅgulīyakas*)

Owing to the small size and sometimes due to the indistinct representations, it becomes difficult to ascertain the exact shape of the ornament. However, a few of the specimens can be made out from the reliefs of the early Indian art. Thus at Barhūt, rings of four fingers are distinctly represented[17] (*Fig. XXV, 8*).

Again, the early sculptures of Amarāvati do not represent any finger rings. But they make their appearance in the sculptures of third century A.D.[18] In the Mathura sculptures rings adorning the small finger[19] and thumb[20] are met with.

(v) *Multi-coiled anklets* (*nūpuras*)

The Sanchi reliefs depict this ornament at many places (*Fig. XXV, 9*). Thus, the panel[21] illustrating the offering by the monkey at Vaisali represents a female worshipper and a female attendant with multi-coiled *nūpuras*. A *chatra-dhāriṇi* and a female attendant depicted in the panel[22] representing the return of the Buddha to Kapilavastu reveals similar type of ornaments. However, the best specimen can be seen in the leg of *yakṣī* at Sanchi.[23]

Interestingly, the Barhūt sculptures teem with the illustrations of this ornament (*Fig. XXV, 10*). The multi-coiled *nūpura* worn by the *Sudarsana yakṣī*[24] at Barhūt (*Fig. XXV, 11*), is the best example of this variety. In certain cases this leg ornament is further embellished with several designs and small bells (*ksudraghantikas* or *kinkinis*) are attached to it (*Fig. XXV, 12*), as seen at Amarāvati.

At Amarāvati, this multi-coiled leg ornaments is frequently depicted. Sivaramamurti identifies them as multi-coiled *mañjīras*.[25] A lovely multi-coiled *mañjīra* can be seen adorning the legs of Samavati and her female attendant depicted in the panel[26] illustrating

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the story of Udayana (*Fig. XXV, 13*). Again, in the panel[27] illustrating cakravarti and seven jewels, the queen is shown wearing a mañjira. Elsewhere,[28] another queen with her female attendant appears in this ornament. In fact, in the case of the queen, her leg ornaments are shown being adjusted. Similar is the case with the female attendants and the queen illustrated in the panels depicting *cakravartin* and the first sermon[29] and *Māndhātu Jātaka.*[30] The profuse depictions of the multi-coiled ornaments as found at Barhut and Amarāvati are on the wane in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa reliefs. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[31] in one instance a female attendant sculptured is an inscribed slab in shown wearing a multi-coiled *mañjīra* on her ankles.

Literary Evidence

The references to the multi-coiled ornaments are not lacking in the early Indian literature. The sweet-sounding anklet, *mañjīra*[32] is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mṛcchakaṭika, Raghuvaṁśa* and *Sumaṅgalavilāsini.*[33] The anklet gets the appellation *mañjīra* as it resembles the coiled-strings on the churning stick. The *jātakas*[34] refer to the entwining angadas which were used as an armour for the protection of the upper arm. Later, Bāṇa in his *Kādambari*[35] gives the picturesque description of the *keyūras* or *aṅgada* entwining the arms like a couple of snakes fond of the smell of sandal applied to the body. Bāṇa talking about the wild tribes records that the snake's hood was the ornament of *Sabaras.*[36]

Evidence from outside India

Outside India, as early as in ancient Egyptian age[37] snake bracelets were known. In the Bronze Age (1200-900 B.C.), the multi-coiled bracelets on a conventionalized form were in use[38] (*Fig. XXV, 14*). In the dark ages (1600-800 B.C.), spirals of gold and bronze were used for decorating the hair[39] with their origin traceable in the Lausitz Culture. In 800-400 B.C. the multi coiled necklace[40] of bronze was available with its parallels found in Danish bog-offering.[41] The multi-spiralled ear-rings occur in 700 B.C. at Sinjerli which had Syrian origin.[42] The type was very popular in Rhodes and is also found in Eastern Greece. They lingered on to the classical period

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(600-300 B.C.) with regional variations.[43] In the early Etruscan Jewellery,[44] fine examples of spiral ear-rings are met with. In the Hellenistic period (330-27 B.C.), the finger rings in the form of spiral-led snakes were extremely popular.[45]

Again, it is interesting to note that the snake bracelet in rather substantial form was well-known in the Hellenistic times[46] (*Fig. XXV, 15*). It is also found in Pompeii.[47] A fine example of the gold bracelet (*Fig. XXV, 16*) datable to 1st-2nd centuries A.D. is available from the Roman empire.[48]

General Observations

The foregoing study reveals that the multi-coiled ornaments appear in the early Indian art in three forms, namely as *karṇa bhūsaṇas*, *aṅgadas*, and *nūpuras* besides sparse representations as *aṅguliyakas* and *prakoṣṭha valayas*. Of these forms, the use of the multi-coiled ornament as *aṅgada* appears to have been very popular as compared to the other forms. These armlets which have their beginnings at Pitalkhora; continue at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathura and gain popularity by 6th century A.D. as is evidenced at Aihole and Bādāmī. It survives through the ages with its parallels traceable in the *aṅgadas* depicted at Elorā and Pattadakal as late as 8th century A.D.

As for the multi-coiled nupuras which were very popular during the preceeding and succeeding centuries of the Christian era (as evidenced at Sanchi, Barhūt and Amarāvati) they were evidently on wane at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It is an interesting feature that while the multi-coiled *nūpura* is prevalent in early Indian art, it is significantly absent in the contemporary or early specimens outside India. However, the multi-coiled *nūpura* does not seem to have gained favour outside India.

The multi-coiled ear-rings noticed at Sanchi, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in an incipient form could have been the proto-type of the later elaborate *sarpa-kuṇḍalas* mentioned in Sanskrit literature.

Again, it is noteworthy, that while the sculptures of Sanchi,

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Amarāvati etc., are prolific in depicting the multi-coiled ornaments in some form, the Gandhāra sculptures are significantly silent. This paucity of the representation may probably be due to the non-popularity of the ornament among the Gandharānese.

The prevalence of this ornament outside India even long before it had its representations in India, indicates its possible foreign origin and it is quite likely that this ornament was introduced into India by the Romans at Sanchi and Amarāvati. It is a well-known fact that India had Indo-Roman trade contacts about the begining of the Christian era. The trade was flourishing during Augustus regime which was almost contemporaneous with the execution of the Sanchi reliefs. This would explain the representation of a Roman or Roman objects at Sanchi or Amarāvati.

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32. *Mañju Iran mañjīraḥ.*
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46. It is preserved in Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples; James Laver, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 96.5.
47. Seyffert, O., *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (London, 1891) p. 144, b., Higgins, *Op. cit.*, p. 187, Pl. 61 E; Also Laver, *Op. cit.*, 105.2. A silver armlet composed of a rod bent into spiral of six complete turns, terminating at each end in the head of a serpant is assignable to 4th-3rd century B.C. This type of bracelets frequently occur on Greek vases (B.M. Cat. of vases, III, Pl. XXI vide B.M. Cat. Jewellery No. 2775 and also p. 324, fig. 89.
48. Laver, *Op. cit.*, Pl.108.1. Interestingly, in the Sythian Art this ornament appears in the conventionalized form as opposed to the naturalistic delineations, (Borovka, *Gregory Sythian Art*, page 69; Pl. 57, B and C). Also vide Marshall, *Op. cit.*, Pl. LXII, No. 2774. (The bracelet is an example of the Roman period datable to 2nd-4th century A.D.).

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Channavira Vaikakshaka

The sculptural representation of *channavīra vaikakṣhaka* in early Indian Art is realistic. In early sculptures, *channavīra*[1] meaning 'protect warrior' retains its literal meaning as it refers to the *vaikakṣhaka* of the warrior whose torso it protects. *Channavīra* may otherwise mean 'warrior-controlled' implying that the wearer has control over the combating warriors. It may also mean that he has "concealed his valour" or controlled valour. However, the object is essentially of the military origin.

At Sanchi, depiction of *Channavīra* is more than once. The dwarf depicted on the Sanchi *toraṇa*[2] offers an excellent example of this type. He is shown wearing an ornament composed of two bejewelled bands crossing each other on the chest. The bands or chains seem to have been issued from the ornamental rosette shaped plaque. A similar plaque in the centre serves as a spacer (*Fig. XXVI, 1*). The dwarfs depicted on the middle lintel of the Sanchi gateway[3] reveal *channavīra* of similar kind. In this case also the *vaikakṣhakas* are provided with ornamental discs embossed with full blown lotus flower.

Another parallel example of the channavīra comes from the horse riders depicted on the *toraṇas* of Sanchi. The cross-belt probably, of leather is simple and devoid of any clasps as seen above (*Fig. XXVI, 2*). Similar, is the case with the cross-belts worn by the bow-men illustrated in the panel[4] representing Śyāma Jātaka on the *stūpa* gateway.

The *vaikakṣhaka* seen on *yakṣhī*[5] portrayed on the *toraṇas* is slightly different. In this case the two chains presumably of gold are not crossing each other but are passing through the central round plaque tangentially (*Fig. XXVI, 3*). In another instance,[6] a female is

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shown wearing two long chains with medallions slinging from the shoulders, crossing each other below the breasts (*Fig. XXVI, 4*). This ornament restricted to women appears to be *hema-vaikakṣhaka.* In literature, *vaikakṣhakas* of gold, cloth or cotton, flower wreath, pearl strings etc., are also referred to.[7]

At Barhūt, the vaikakṣhaka worn by the *chula-koka devata*[8] is superb. The ornament, probably of gold is composed of two chains which are crossing each other on the breast. The chains seem to issue from ornamental discs adorned with rosette shaped bosses and have a similar round plaque at the crossing to serve as a spacer (*Fig. XXVI, 5*). A similar type of ornament can be seen from a female dancer depicted on the Prasenajit Pillar.[9] In this case, the cross-bands are bejewelled and provided with an ornamental disc decorated with rosette shaped bosses (*Fig. XXVI, 6*). Elsewhere, again, is met with a similar type, the chains of which are provided with round plaques embossed with full blown lotus flower (*Fig. XXVI, 7*). A male person is also shown wearing a *channavīra* (*Fig. XXVI, 8*). The ornament is simple and devoid of clasps which are generally met with in the *vaikakṣhakas* worn by females of the Barhūt reliefs.

At Pitalkhora, *dvārapāla yakṣha*[10] from cave No. 3 offers a good example of *channavīra.* He is shown wearing a double belt, crossing the body and passing over each shoulder. The decoration on the straps include creeper like design and simple raised bands (*Fig. XXVI, 9*).

The depiction of the *vaikakṣhaka* adorning the females at Amarāvati is quite interesting. In one instance[11] a female is shown wearing *a vaikakṣhaka* probably of gold. It is composed of two chains or cords crossing each other below the breasts. The chains seem to issue from the rosette shaped plaque (*Fig. XXVII, 10*). Similar *vaikakṣhaka* is seen adorning some other lady.[12] In this case also, the ornament is composed of two chains crossing each other below the breast. The cross-band is provided with clasps embossed with lotus flower design (*Fig. XXVII, 11*).

Some of the dwarfs depicted in the Amarāvati reliefs offer fine example of *Channavīra.* A dwarf is portrayed on a rail pillar[13] with a *channavīra.* It is provided with a round plaque embossed with lotus

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flowers to serve as a spacer for the cross bands. In another instance[14] a dwarf is revealed with a *channavīra.* The two belts are seen crossing each other near the chest and is bereft of any decoration or clasp.

At Karle, a female donor depicted on the *chaitya* facade[15] is shown wearing a lovely *vaikakṣhaka.* The cross-bands or cords are issued from the circular discs adorned with embossed lotus medallion. As usual the central disc serves as a spacer (*Fig. XXVII, 12*).

More than one instance *channavīra* gets its representation in the Nāgārjūnakoṇḍa reliefs.[16] In the panel[17] depicting Mārā's assault Mārā is shown wearing a *channavīra.* Two bands of gold thread or plaited gold cords are shown crossing each other over the breast. In another panel[18] illustrating the Nāga king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha, the rear view of the *channavīra* is offered by Vajrapāṇi (*Fig. XXVII, 17*). Some of the dwarf[19] also appear in *channavīra.* In the centre, on the breast, where the two bands cross each other, is to be seen an ornamental disc adorned with rosette shaped bosses.

In the Mathura reliefs[20] also, some of the male and female figures appear with cross-bands akin to those seen above. In this case also, the cross bands are provided with round plaques adorned with lotus medallions. Parallel examples of *channavīra vaikakṣhaka* can be seen in the ivories of Begram[21] (*Fig. XXVII, 13 to 16*). The specimens depicted in the ivories have close resemblance to those found at Sanchi, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc.

The cross-bands or cross-belts persist in the immediate Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. Its increasing popularity can be seen in the parallels of the subsequent Early Chālukyan and Pallava art with its survivals, traceable at Combodia as late as in 13th century A.D.[22] It is interesting to note that the *vaikakṣhaka* adorning the *chula-koka devata* at Brahūt or the one seen on the dwarfs either at Sanchi or at Pitalkhora or at Amarāvati or at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or the one found on the goddesses at Aihole or at Bādāmi or the one worn by *Gajalakṣhmī* at Mahābalipuram is almost the same type as that adorning the divinities of Cambodia, seeking its prototype in the west.

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The cross-belts or cross-bands were known in the west even long before they made their appearance on the Indian soil. As early as in the 14th century B.C. some of the Egyptian male dancers wore double cross belt.[23] Presumable, this belt, decorated with row of studs, was made to hold securely the lower garment. The Egyptian hunters[24] wore cross-belt but slightly in a different way. His cross-belt ended well over the abdomen, presumably having a hook at the back. Contemporaneously Shari, an Assyrian war tribe also used the cross-belt.[25] They wore a sort of double belt, crossing the body and passing over each shoulder and thus together with the pointed cap very much resembled the dress of Tirhaka captives.[26]

Again, the hunters and war charioteers depicted on the golden vessels[27] from Ugarit assignable to middle syrian period (circa 14th century B.C.) wear cross-belts similar to those worn by the Egyptian dancers.

A lime-stone boundary stone[28] of Marduk-Nasir of Assyro-Kassite period (late 13th-10th century B.C.) depicts an excellent example of a cross-belt or a baldric worn by the royalty of the day. In Neo-Assyrian period (8th century B.C.) the cross-belts appeared to have been extremely popular. An Alabastar relief[29] portraying king Ashurbanipal's victory over the king of Elam reveals cross-belt. The straps of the belt are decorated with a row of cireclets. At Nineveh an Assyrian warrior of the same period gets portrayed with a cross-belt provided with a central disc or stud.[30]

However, a solitary instance of a female wearing the cross-band is met with on the Calyx-Krater[31] (300-50 B.C.) In the early centuries of the Christian era the cross-belt was very much favoured as is evident from the reliefs of the Sussanid Persians. The best example of the cross-belt with a central spacer, of a warrior is illustrated in the Sassanian rock sculpture[32] depicting the victory of Ardashir I over Artabanus V.

In India, the cross-belt or cross-band that gets portraiture in early Indian sculptures seemed to have been of Persian origin. The Indians borrowed this object from the Persians with whom India came

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into contact with the invasion of Darius in the 5th century B.C. It gets its earliest sculptured representations by 2nd-1st century B.C., as evident at Sanchi, Barhūt, Pitalkhora and in the early sculptures of Amarāvati.

Conclusion

The foregoing study reveals that the cross-belt (*Channavīra Vaikakṣhaka*) is of unmistakable foreign origin. In all probability, it was introduced into India by the Persians in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. It is noteworthy that while this cross-belt is present at Sanchi, Barhūt, Pitalkhora, Amarāvati, etc., it is significantly absent at Gandhāra. Perhaps its absence may be due to its non-popularity among the Gandhāranese. In respect of the cross-belt or cross-band one sees hardly any marked development or change in their style or form through the age.

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24

Buddhist Architecture of Sri Lanka and India

It is well known that the artistic efforts, especially in the Buddhist period, owed their origin to the growth of Buddhism. The religious character, so deeply rooted in the national life of the Ceylonese, continued to be the guiding factor in their art and architecture through the ages. These edifices influenced by the religious tendencies and destined to serve religious purposes, could only stand to connote non-secular representations. In this respect the art and architecture of Ceylon cannot be an exception.

The lofty and massive Buddhist structures, which have been excavated at Ceylon, could not have been, therefore, the result of the mere imagination of the master-builders but have the Buddhist concept and idealogies, harmonised in the architectural constructions of these monuments. Thus, the very *stūpa* architecture of ceylon goes well in conformity with the religious texts like the *Divyāvadhāna*, the *Mahāvaṁśa*[1] etc. These texts give graphic account of the *stūpa* and its construction. The drum (*vedika*), the dome (*aṇḍa*) surmounting the *vedika*, the *harmika*, the *chhatra*, the circumambulatory path (*pradakṣhina paṭha*), the railings consisting of uprights (*ūrdhvapattas*) and the cross bars (*sūci*), standing on the tenons, all of the *stūpa* constitute the components of the *stūpa* architecture. Amazingly enough, the *stūpas* of Ceylon betray the architectural components in the strict conformity with the texts envisaged or enjoined in the *Mahāvaṁśa* and the like.

Similarly, the very shape of the *stūpa* with the dome is meant, perhaps, for heralding the beholder of their philosophic conception that it is ephemeral or unreal and short lived. The dome takes the

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form of a bubble reminding that life is just like a bubble in water and may vanish at any time (*jala budhbudha sannido avam dehah*).

The architectural peculiarities of the Buddhist monuments of Ceylon are quite alluring and reveal very interesting facts. In the *stūpa* construction in India, the height of the *vedika* invariably indicated the date of the *stūpa*. The lower the drum, anterior the date of the *stūpa*. Thus, the *stūpa* at Ghaṇṭaśāla, Amarāvati etc., which have low drum indicate an earlier date (1st-2nd century B.C.) to the *stūpa*. Similarly, the size of the brick also helps, to a large extent, in fixing the date of the *stūpa* in India. The larger the measurement of the brick that went into the construction of the *stūpa*, the anterior the date assigned to the *stūpa*[2]. But this type of connotation is not applicable to the *stūpas* of Ceylon. The lofty *stūpa* in Abhayagiri Vihāra standing to a height of about 300′, perhaps the highest *stūpa* known to Asia, is dated to 3rd century B.C. evidently being the earliest in Ceylon. The drum (*vedika*) of this *stūpa* stands to a height of about 20 to 30′, superimposed by a massive dome, rising to a height of about 270′. The height of the drum, therefore, cannot be a yard-stick for conjecturing the date of the *stūpa* as far as the Ceylon's Buddhist monuments are concerned. Another noticeable feature of the *stūpa* architecture of Ceylon through the ages is that the *aṇḍa* portion not of the *Stūpa* has been bereft of sculptural veneering, which is a common feature in India, particularly, South India. The *stūpa* domes of Ceylon on the other hand indicate the vestiges of thick plaster coating, which is plain and devoid of any decoration. Despite the fact that the Ceylon is dotted with numerous Buddhist establishments throughout, it can be singularly noticed that the representations of life scenes of the Buddha or the *jātaka* stories in stone are absent.[3] It is significant to note that neither rounded nor rectangular panels decorate the *stūpa* as found with the *stūpas* of India like Sanchi, Barhūt, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc. While the prevalence of the anthropomorphic forms of the Buddha in stone is prolific in Ceylon, the symbolic representation or the lithic delineation of the scenes of the Buddha are scanty or almost nil.

Another peculiar architectural feature of the *stūpas* of Ceylon is the presence of the *Parivāra Buddhas* and frontis pieces known

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in Sinhalese as *vahalkade*, which is conspicuously absent in the Buddhist architecture of India. These *vahalkades* are the projections meant to receive the statues of Buddha at four cardinal directions of the *stūpa*. Thus, the *vahalkades* noticed at Pablu Vihāra and some other *stūpas* of the 12th century A.D.[4] at Polannaruva marked a special feature to the *stūpa* architecture of Ceylon. These evidently could have been borrowed from the Buddhist architecture of India. The *āyaka* platforms, provided at four cardinal directions of the *stūpas* of south India like Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc., could have been the forerunners of the *vahalkades* of the Ceylon. The *Parivāra Buddhas* seen around the stupas of Ceylon are unknown to Indian Buddhist architecture.

The railing with *ūrdhvapattas* and *sūchis*, which constitutes one of the components of the *stūpa* architecture is represented at Ceylon sparsely. Many of the *stūpas* excavated in Ceylon do not reveal railings. But Runavelli *stūpa* at Anurādhapura reveals a railing of new architectural feature. Instead of Buddhist railing here, elephants are carved in succession in the railing all around, which feature is totally novel to the Buddhist architecture in India. It is believed that these lined up elephants are supposed to guard the *stūpa* as such.

The existence of a moon slab at the entrances of the *stūpas* and monasteries is a common feature in Ceylon but the study of these *chandraśilas* of Ceylon reveal that only two animals *viz.*, *Hasti* and *Vṛṣhabha* are edged along the crescent of the moon slab.[5] This depiction of these two animals, along the edges of the moon slab, is meticulously followed in the Buddhist establishments of Ceylon. As opposed to this, we find increased number of animals in the moon slabs of the monastic complexes of India. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[6], there is a clear depiction of a moon slab, where animals like elephant, bull, lion, horse, deer and the boar in succession are carved along the edge of the slab. Here, the elephant stands for Māyā Devi's dream, the *Vṛṣhabha* reminds of the birth of Buddha in *Vṛṣhabha Lagna*, the lion stands for a *Śākya Siṁha*, the horse connotes the Great Renunciation, the deer denotes enlightenment of the Buddha in deer park at Sarnath and the boar perhaps indicates the passing away of the Buddha by eating the flesh of this animal.

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Another notable feature of the Buddhist architecture of Ceylon is the presence of free standing pillars. Such free standing pillars in Buddhist establishments are not uncommon. They occur in Hindu, Jain, Buddhist architecture of India.[7] In India the Buddhists employed them to bear inscriptions, emblems and animals. The Jains built *deepa stambha* or lamp bearing pillars. The Vaishnavites raised *garuda stambha* bearing *Garuda* bird and the Śaivites built *dvaja stambha* or flag staff. There is also a mention of free standing pillars like *māna stambha, rana stambha, kīrti stambha* etc. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, we get *chhaya khambha* or memorial pillars apart from the free standing pillars on the entrances of the *stūpa* and a *dvaja stambha* before the Puṣhpabhadra Swāmy temple.[8] Apparently, the free standing pillars found in the Buddhist architecture of Ceylon also stand to mean the same as that of their counter-parts in India.

In the early or later frescos of Ceylon, while depicting the Mārā's assault, invariably, three daughters of Mārā appear in the scene. But in the lithis representations of Mārā scene in the Buddhist sites of India, it is only two daughters of Mārā that get their representation. Thus, a slight deviatian in the depiction of Mārā's assault in both the countries is perceptible.

The presence of *Uruna* on the forehead of Buddha is again a rare feature in Ceylon. The appearance of the *Uruna* on forehead, which is a common feature in Gandhāra art, has not been popularised either at Amarāvati, Sunga or Mathura art of India or in Ceylon. In many statues of Buddha in Ceylon and Pollannaruva and other Buddhist sites discovered at Anurādhapura, we come across the impact of Amarāvati school of art in some of the statues of Buddha. The round face with thick lips, snubbed nose and ringlets, which are the features of the Buddha of the Amarāvati school, can be seen in some of the heads of the Buddha in Ceylon. Another notable feature of the Buddha figure of Ceylon is the standing posture. There are instances where the statues of Buddha, in *Tribhanga* posture, are found. This feature seems to be rare or totally absent as regards to the Buddha statues of India. However, the statues of Buddha standing in *samabhanga* is not wanting either in Ceylon or in India. In Ceylon,

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the *mahāparinibbāna* of Buddha is invariably represented in the posture of recumbent Buddha as found in the sculptural depiction of Gandhāra art. Here, in Ceylon, the colossal recumbent Buddhas in stone appear in several Buddhist sites, indicating the *Mahāparinibbāna*. The Buddha in this recumbent posture heralds the *Prasarita* posture referred to by Bharata in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

It is well known that Ceylon owed much to India as regards to the infusion of Buddhism into the Ceylonese soil. The *Vaitulyavādins*, identified with *Mahā Sunnavadins* of Nāgārjuna, suggest that it was the teachings of Nāgārjuna that were received by the monks of Abhayagiri Vihāra, in the days of *Voharika Tissa*. Again another example of the borrowal of Buddhism by the Ceylonese from India can be cited. Similarly, *Vajiriyavādins* here noticed in the reign of King Śena-I, were identical with the *Vajrayānists*, a school of Buddhism which flourished in Eastern India about that time. However, it appears that the magnitude of the assemblage of the Buddhistic monuments of Ceylon and its ratio of borrowal of the art and architecture of India are not tangential. Naturally, the Buddhism from India that paved its way into Ceylon, where it had its flourshing growth, could have also brought with it the art and architecture and other cultural assemblage. But one can see clearly the disproportionate impact of Buddhism on Buddhistic art and architecture transfused from India into Ceylon.

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Index

Abhayagiri, 179, 182
Abhidhānottara Tantra, 6, 139
Āchārya Nāgārjuna, 111
Ācārāṇga-Sūtra, 143
Adam's peak, 156
Āghāṭi, 25, 26
Adhovastra, 102
Āgamas, 44
Agni-citya, 142
Agni Purāṇa, 58, 59, 63
Aihole, 126, 165, 168, 174
Ajanta, 4, 18, 19, 34, 36, 94, 102, 106
Ajanta caves, 57
Ajanta ladies 102
Ajanta Paintings, 13, 38, 104
Ajātasatru, 17, 147
Akṣobhya, 137
Alabastar reliefs, 175
Alābu kapisirshins, 26
Alaka, 30
Aliṇgana dohada, 119
Ālingya mṛdaṇga, 31
Allahabad Museum, 121
Allahabad pillar inscription, 58, 60
Allakappa, 147
Aloday, 29
Amarakośa, 44, 51, 72
Amarasimha, 74
Amarāvati, 5, 7, 8, 16, 32, 34-36, 52, 59, 63, 78, 81-83, 86, 93, 94, 96, 106, 113, 115, 120, 126, 130, 135, 139, 148, 149, 154, 155, 161, 166-169, 173, 174 179, 181
Amarāvati art Style, 116
Amarāvati Coiffures, 14
Amarāvati hair-style, 21
Amarāvati foot-prints, 157
Amarāvati school of art, 161, 181
Amarāvati Sculptor, 1, 5, 14, 15, 19, 21, 49, 85, 104, 165
Amarāvati Site Museum, 113
Amarāvati Stupa, 5, 113, 115, 148
Amarāvati tantric icons, 6
Amaresvara temple, 5, 115, 117
Amazon guard, 108
Amba Sutta, 114
Amitabha, 133
Amitreyasutta, 129
Amogasiddhi, 135
Amphora, 81
Amphorae, 3, 78, 80
Amphoriskoi, 81
Amusements, 60, 71
Anagatavamsa aṭṭhakatha, 156
Ananda, 147, 150
Ānanda-Cetiya, 144
Andhabuta Jataka, 32
Āndhra, 69
Āndhra art, 108
Āndhra region, 3
Āndhra Pradesh, 68, 73, 126, 138, 161
Aṅgada, 8, 164, 165
Aṇgavijja, 3
Aṅguliyapas, 164
Aṇkas, 27
Aṇkusā, 125
Autariya, 102, 103, 137
Anuradhapura, 147, 161, 180, 181

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Apāghātalikas, 26
Apaladadama story, 48
Aparājita, 5
Apataia, 49
Arabs, 74
Archaeological Museum Khajuraho 127
Archaeological Survey of India, 154
Ardha-paryaṇka pose, 127
Arjuna, 34
Arrows, 56
Arrow-head shapes, 63
Arthaśāstra, 58, 61, 83
Asandi, 43, 48
Āsandī-Settee, 47
Āśa. G.S., 11
Asandaka, 43
Asharama, 48
Aṣhobhya, 134
Ashurbampal, 175
Asi, 58
Asiputrikas, 59
Aśita, 16
Askos, 3, 84
Asana, 44
Aśoka dahada, 120, 122, 147, 150, 153, 155, 156
Aśoka Kantā, 135
Aśoka's time, 7
Aśoka tree, 120, 122
Assyrian harps, 32
Assyrian Warrior, 175
Assyro-Kassite period, 175
Aṣṭamangala, 160
Aṣṭapada, 73
Aṣṭasahasrik, 129
Aśvagosha, 120
āśvalayana Gṛihya Sūtra, 11, 142
Atharva Veda, 10, 11, 25, 50, 159
Aṭṭhapada, 70
Attic pottery 78
Augustus regime, 169
Avaghatariksa, 26
Avalokitesvara, 133
Axe, 3, 57, 62
Axes, 56
Āyaka platform, 7

Baat paddle, 98
Bactria camels, 95
Bādami, 121, 126, 165, 168, 174
Bajaur, 77
Bakula, 118
Balls game, 69
Bāṇa, 13, 17, 30, 52, 60, 93, 167
Bāṇa's Harṣhacharita, 72
Band. G.S., 12
Bangkok, 157
Barabudur, 32
Barha-bharakesa, 20, 21
Barhūt, 5, 7, 8, 16, 19, 34, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 86, 96, 106, 119, 120, 122, 157, 167, 168, 173, 179
Barhūt artist, 123
Barhūt reliefs, 173
Barhūt sculptures, 59, 166
Baskets, 3, 85
Bed steads, 2, 50
Begran, 174
Bekurā, 25
Benches, 2
Bengal, 127
Bhadraghata, 159
Bhadda pitham, 43
Bhagavatas, 111
Bhajan mandirs, 73
Bhandi, 13
Bharata, 74, 182
Bhagavatas, 4
Bharhūt, 21, 32, 36
Bharhut Sculptures, 37
Bhāshya, 26
Bhattiprolu, 148

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Bhattiprolu stūpa, 150
Bhindipala, 60
Bhiṇkāra, 81
Bhojadeva, 122
Bhusparsa, 130
Bhubaneswar, 121
Bhūmi dundubhi, 26
Bhumisparsa, 131
Bhūmisparśa mudra, 133, 136
Bhuvaneshwar, 5
Bikos, 84
Black-and-red-were, 115
Black-painted, 79
Boats, 92
Bodhgaya, 77, 97, 120
Bodhi maṇda, 153
Bodhisatra, 131, 132
Bodhisatva Avalokiteśvara, 129
Boddhisattva Padmapaṇi, 33
Bodhisattva Worship, 17
Bodhi-tree, 37, 45, 153
Bodics, 105
Bora-Budur, 161
Bow, 57
Bow and arrow, 3
Bows, 56
Bowl, 79
Bowls, 3, 78
Brahma, 35, 46, 82
Brāhmaṇa, 147
Brāhmaṇas, 11, 25, 43, 48, 50, 147
Brāmaṇical institutions, 143
Breast Band, 105
Bṛhat Samita, 58
Bridal Procession, 97
Bṛihadaraṇyakaupaniṣads, 26
Bronze Age, 167
Bronze arms, 56
Buddha, 9, 16, 34, 49, 51, 82, 94, 96, 107, 131, 132, 146, 150, 154, 155, 156, 174
Budha carita, 31. 120
Buddha-chaitya, 154
Buddhaghosa, 56, 70
Buddha-pāda, 5, 7, 8, 113, 114, 153, 154, 157
Budhavamśa, 7, 156
Buddha with Maitreya, 133
Buddhahood, 134
Buddhism, 129
Buddhist, 4, 181
Buddhist architecture, 9, 180, 181
Buddha institutions, 144
Buddhist art, 113, 129
Buddhist Canonial text, 146
Bullock carts, 4
Buddhist Iconography, 129
Buddhist literature, 8, 27, 43, 47, 50, 70, 78, 82, 122, 143, 160
Buddhist monks, 87
Buddhist monuments, 179
Buddhist period, 60, 117, 178
Buddhist patheon, 129
Buddhist share, 111
Buddhist Shrine, 144
Buddhist stupas, 161
Buddhist structures, 178
Buddhist tantras, 140
Buddhist texts, 1, 81, 83
Buddhist writings, 56, 61
Buddhist worship, 144
Bullfight, 73
Bullock cart, 96
Bun shaped, 20
Burma, 32, 150
Burmese style, 103
Burners, 3

Cadi, 81
Caitya, 142
Caityas, 143

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Caitya gṛhas, 142
Caitya-prāsādas, 142
Caitya-vṛkṣas, 142
Calyx-Krater, 175
Cambodia, 174
Camels, 92, 98
Campaka, 118
Canda yakśi, 119
Canonical literature, 155
Carchesion, 3
Carriages, 92
Cart, 95
Carts, 92
Casket, 86
Caskets, 4
Caves of Bhāja, 94
Cave paiatings at Ajanta, 93
Caves of Karli, 19
Ceylon, 1, 33, 147, 178, 180-182
Chagtur, 3
Chaitya gṛha, 154
Chakravarti and his retinue, 16
Chālukyan, 9, 161, 174
Chāluka Bhima, 113
Chālukyan period, 126
Chālukyan sculptures, 126
Chāmaradhara, 15
Champeya, 52
Champeya Jātaka, 48, 51, 72
Chanda, 107
Chandaka, 153
Chandraśilas, 180
Channavīra, 9
Channavīra vaikakshaka, 8, 172
Chariots, 4, 95, 96
Chignon, 137
China, 72
China-Turkistan, 4
Chinese, 103
Christian era, 1, 16, 72, 168, 169, 175
Chola period, 13
Clarionet, 29
Club, 2, 57, 59, 60
Cock-fight, 73
Cock fighting, 3, 72
Coiffures, 10
Comilla, 134
Conch, 1, 2, 31, 33
Copper maces, 59
Copperarm, 56
Coomaraswamy, 160
Conveyances, 92
C. Sivaramamurthi, 21
Culakoka Devali, 119
Cullavagga, 48-50
Curika, 58
Curly hair, 1, 14, 15
Crown-shaped Coiffure, 11
Curved staff, 86
Cyathus, 3
Cymbal, 30, 31, 38
Cymbals, 37

Dagger, 2, 58
Daggers, 56
Damaru, 125
Dānapathi, 131
Dambara, 26
Danishbog-offering, 167
Daṇḍin, 60
Daṇḍi, 57
Daṇḍin's Dasa Kumara Charitam, 72
Dārdurika, 20
Dark ages, 167
Dasaratha Jataka, 47
Devanagari, 130
Devatas, 123
Devadatta, 34
Devicaṣhṭayapacāra, 74
Dharmachakraparivarthana, 46
Dhammakaraka, 82
Dhammila, 1

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Dhammilla hair style, 19
Dhanusha, 125
Dhānyakaṭaka, 149
Dharma, 146
Dharma chakra, 115, 117
Dharaṇi Vihāra, 7, 154
Dhyāna, 137
Dhyānas, 135
Dhyāni Buddha, 129, 134
Dhyāni Buddha Akshobhya, 140
Dhalak, 36
Dice play 3, 70
Digambara sect, 160
Digīṭhi kosala Jātaka, 47
Dikshit, 149
Dindima, 26
Dionysus, 86
Divyāradhāna, 182
Divyāvadhāna, 7, 155
Dohada, 5, 118, 119, 121, 122
Dolls, 70
Domestic Vessels, 78
De-ngon, 136
Drinking, 3
Drinking horns, 78, 80
Drona, 147
Drum, 178
Drummer, 36
Drums, 2, 28, 35
Dr. Vogel, 121
Dome, 178
Dundubhi, 25, 26
Dundubhis, 27
Durhṛda, 5
Dvārpāla, 164

Eastern Chalukyan period, 6, 126
Egypt, 31, 32, 59
Egyptian male dancers, 175
Egyptian, 70, 167
Ekajaṭā 135
Ekaveṇi, 12
Elam, 59, 175
Elephant, 94
Elephanta, 126, 165
Elephants, 98
Elora, 165, 168
Ellora, 121
Ellora temples, 5
Etruscan Jewellery, 168
Epics, 1

Fans, 4, 85
Fan shaped, 20
Fahian, 147, 155
Fa Hien, 77, 129, 150
Fian Tsang, 156
Flagon, 82
Flugel, 106
Flute, 29
Fluteplayer, 36
Foot-prints, 153, 156
Footrest, 50
Foot-Sttols, 2, 50
Full vase, 159-162
Full vase, motif, 161

Gaḍā, 59
Gajalakṣhmi, 174
Game board, 70
Games, 3, 68
Gandhara, 14, 32, 77, 84, 85, 93, 104, 156
Gandharas, 98
Gandhāra art, 19, 181, 182
Gandhāra reliefs, 3, 81, 92, 97
Gandhārans, 3, 4, 78
Gandhāras, 95, 96
Gandhāra Sculptures, 92, 115, 169
Gandhārvas, 143
Gandhārva veda, 29

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Ganesa, 35
Gaṇga, 160
Gangetic valley, 144
Gargara, 25
Garikapādu, 148
Gāthāsaptaśati, 15
Gautama, 35, 37, 113, 114
Gautama Buddha, 130, 133
Gaya, 45
Ghana, 27, 37
Ghaṇṭa, 125
Ghantaśāla, 148, 155, 179
Ghaṭa Jātāka, 4, 106
Ghatākarkaris, 26
Ghaṭikara, 108
Gift of Earth, 68, 69
Gobhila Gṛihya Sūtras, 11
Goblets, 3, 78, 80
Godāvari, 148
Godhā, 25
Gods, 143
Gold medallian, 75
Goli, 63, 94, 96
Goli kāyalu, 69
Gondhāvīnakas, 26
Graeco Parthian, 79
Great Renunciation, 5, 113, 180
Grecian lyre, 31
Greeco-Pārthian Vessels, 3
Greek, 82
Greek rhyton, 80
Greeks, 14
Greek Vessel, 79
Greek Wines, 81
Grihya sutras, 26
Gudivāda, 148
Guitar, 1, 33
Gupta emperors, 59
Gupta period, 31, 44, 51
Gupta-vākātaka, 9
Gupta-Vākātaka period, 104, 174
Gustar Roth, 122
Guttila, 28
Guttila Jātakas, 28

Hair-style, 1
Harappa, 25, 56, 59, 62
Hala, 15
Harp, 1, 33
Harṣa, 14
Harṣacarita, 58
Hasti, 9
Hasti saundika style, 104
Head of Dionysus, 79
Hellenistic, 14
Hellenstic Greece, 104
Hellenistic influence, 77, 85
Hellensitic origin, 79, 80
Hellenistic period, 168
Hellenistic times, 168
Hema-vaikakṣhaka, 173
Heruka, 6, 133, 134, 140
Hevajra, 6
Hevajrasādhana tantra, 139, 140
Hinayanists, 131
Horns, 3
Hiuen-tsang, 77, 129
Hiuen-tsiang, 57
Holmos, 3
Horses, 92, 98
Hoppkins, 59
Hop-ṣcotch, 69

Ikshvākus, 2, 14, 69, 68, 71, 73
Ikshvāku period, 70-72
Ikshvāku times, 1
Image of Syāmatārā, 136
Incense, 3
Incense altar, 83
Indian harp, 31

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Indian literature, 56, 58
Indian Museums at Dacca, 136
Indian Museum Calcutta 33
Indian sculptures, 4, 105
Indrasalaguha, 32, 33
Indo-Roman trade, 169
Indus valley Civilization, 10, 58, 61
Iranian baskets, 3
Isāṇa, 127
Ivory plaque, 162

Jacket, 105
Jaḍa-qucchas, 18
Jagrayyapeta, 148, 155
Jaghanāmśuka, 104
Jain, 61, 70
Jaina, 1, 4, 8
Jains, 181
Jain literature, 2, 27, 57, 69, 143
Jain manuscript, 161
Jain Panhavāgarus, 58, 60
Jamalgarhi, 36
Jambhala, 129, 134, 135
Jambhala icon, 134
Jāna-betta, 73
Jāngulī, 135
Japan, 133
Jaṭābhāra, 20
Jaṭābhāra Śikhaṇḍa, 1
Jaṭābhāra sikhaṇḍa mode, 15
Jatākas, 49, 50, 60, 62, 69, 122, 167, 179
Jataka period, 28, 31, 59
Jataka Stories, 47, 51
Jātakasvīṇā, 28
Jaṭamakuta, 127
Javelin, 57
Javelins, 61
Jayamāla, 125
Jewelled turbans, 33
Thallarika, 30
Jinālankara-tika, 15
Jnana Visuddha, 139

Kabarībandha, 13
Kabul, 161
Kādambari, 30, 167
Kākapaksa, 12
Kakṣya, 93
Kalajar, 127
Kalāpaka, 13
Kālidāsa, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 29, 44, 46, 50, 57, 60, 62, 70, 86, 120, 121, 122
Kalpasūtras, 161
Kalingapatnam, 147
Kalinga war, 147
Kalyāṇa manḍapas, 159
Kamaṇḍalu, 82
Kāmasutra, 28
Kambodia, 9
Kamśyatāla, 2
Kanarese language 73
Kandrīya Mahadevatemple, 127
Kaṇḍa-Vīṇā, 127
Kangra style, 127
Kanheri, 120
Kanṣhitaki upanishad, 46
Kanthaka, 92
Kanouj, 146
Kaparda, 10
Kapardin gods, 10
Kapilavastu, 97, 108, 113, 147, 166
Kapiska 161, 162
Kapāla, 125, 134
Kapila, 4
Kapilas, 111
Karaṇḍaka, 148
Karharikas, 26
Karkari, 25
Karatāla, 2
Karle, 173
Karli, 8, 165
Karṇabhūsaṇas, 164

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Karnātaka, 69
Karnātaka region, 73
Karṇikāra, 118
Kashmiris, 87
Kasu, 43
Kaśyapa Buddha, 147
Kaṭhaka Gṛihya Sūtra, 26
Kāt. S.S.,
Kausambi, 146
Kautilya, 59, 61-63, 143
Kāvyas of Kālidāsa, 5
Kerala State, 104
Kesā, 10
Keśapāśa, 1, 13, 20
Keśapāśā Style, 16, 17
Keśavīthi, 17, 20
Khadiravani class, 135
Khadira vani, 135
Khujurāho, 127
Khalasi, 26
Khāṇḍavīṇā, 25
Kharosthṭi documents, 103, 105
Kh. S.Sūtras, 11
Khaṭvā, 43
Khaṭvāṇga-tanjant, 125
Khompa, 11
King Sibi, 59
King Sena, I, 182
Kūjas, 3, 78, 81
Kochhaṁ, 43
Kolātam, 73
Kolies, 147
Koṇas, 31, 38
Konārk, 5
Konkan, 77
Krater, 3, 83
Kṛishṇa, 34, 148
Kottur, 148
Kumara Sambhara, 168
Kumba, 10, 11
Kuṃbha, 125
Kuṃdika, 125
Kuntala, 13
Kurabaka, 118
Kuravaka trees, 121, 122
Kurira, 10, 11
Kusa garments, 104
Kushināra, 146, 147, 155

Lakkhana Sutta, 156
Lalitakṣepha posture, 135
Lambara, 26
Land Transport, 92
Lansitz Culture, 167
Lārilappa, 69
Lavaṇa-katayi, 93
Learning board, 43
Liccharis, 147
Litter, 97
Lokeśvara, 129
Longhust, 149
Lotusmedallion, 72
Lower garments, 105
Lucknow Museums, 120

Maces, 56
Māḍḍuka, 26
Māḍḍukika, 26
Madhu Bindu, 4, 5, 112
Mādhyamika philosophical doctrines, 111
Magadha, 147, 155
Mahābalipuram, 174
Mahābhārata, 1, 12, 26, 27, 56, 58-63, 70, 105, 142, 143
Mahābhāshya, 20, 27
Mahā-Chaitya, 148, 149
Mahāchīna, 136
Mahāchīnatārā, 135
Māhājanaka jātaka, 34, 36, 38
Mahākarlasa, 126
Mahāpadana Sutta, 7, 156
Mahāparinbbāna, 146, 182

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Mahā-parinibbana-sutta, 7, 143, 150
Maharāshtra, 69, 73
Mahāsadāśiva, 6, 125, 126, 127
Mahāśālatrees, 147
Mahā Sunnavadins, 182
Mahāvana monastery, 156
Mahāvagga, 48, 50, 105
Mahāvaṁśa, 7, 154, 178
Māhiṣa maṇḍala, 149
Mahāyānists, 131
Maitreya, 81, 131, 132
Mañjuśri, 129
Malabaris, 74
Mallas, 147
Mānasāra, 13, 44, 125, 126
Mānasollāsa, 63
Mañca, 43, 44
Mancali, 44
Mandāra, 118
Māṇḍalāgra, 59
Māndhāta Jātāka, 59
Māndhātu, 52
Māndhātu jātaka, 17, 18, 52, 167
Maṇgaḷakalasa, 159
Maṇgalaghaśa, 159
Maṇgla kalasa, 160
Mañjūśa, 149, 150
Mañjuvagra maṇḍala, 132
Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra, 26
Manu, 50
Manual of Indian Buddhism, 142
Mārā, 130
Mārā assault, 181
Marble play, 3, 69
Mardala, 1, 31
Marduk-Nasir, 175
Marīchī, 135
Mastaka bhavana, 102
Master-piece of sculptures, 4
Mathura, 8, 6, 81-83, 86, 104, 129, 146, 147, 162, 168
Mathura and gandhāra, 16
Mathura art, 181
Mathura Museum, 120
Mathura reliefs, 174
Mathura sculptures, 166
Matsyavalka style, 104
Maya, 97
Maya Devis, 17, 18, 49, 51, 120, 160, 180
Megarian bowls, 3
Meghadūtani, 121
Mesopotames, 59
Metaphysist, 110
Midarrukkarun, 28
Milinda Pañha, 57, 144
Mimam Sakas, 4, 111
Mini-Dresses, 4, 102
Minoam, 75
Mirrors, 4, 85
Mithuna figures, 3, 75
Modern apron, 103
Modern Swat Buner, 77
Mohammaedans, 74
Mohanjodaro, 25, 56, 59, 60, 62
Moriyas, 147
Mortal Buddha, 130
Mṛcch katika, 167
Mṛdanga, 1, 26, 30, 35-37
Mṛichakaṭika, 30
Mṛshṭa kuṇḍalas, 102
Mukha paṭṭi, 95
Mukura, 85
Mugs, 3, 78, 80
Mules, 92
Multi-coiled anklets, 166
Multi-coiled armlets, 165
Multi-coiled finger rings, 166
Multi-coiled ornament, 8, 164
Multi-coiled Wrist-lets, 165
Mupuras, 164
Muraja, 1
Musical instruments, 1
Musila, 28

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Mycanaen, 75
Mythical Buddha, 155

Nāḍi, 25, 26
Nāgārjuna, 182
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 2-5, 7-9, 14, 16, 17, 19-21, 25, 33-38, 43-46, 48-52, 56-63, 68, 71, 73, 75, 78, 80-83, 85, 86, 93, 94, 96, 104, 106, 108, 111, 112, 114, 120, 126, 148, 149, 154, 161, 165, 167, 168, 174, 180
Nāgas, 143
Nāga symbols, 154
Nāgakeśara, 132
Nalanda, 129
Nameru, 118
Nanda, 85
Nandi, 116
Narambukkaruvi, 28
National Museum, 6
National Museum New Delhi, 127
Natya sastra, 27, 28, 74, 182
Neo-Assyrian period, 175
Nepal, 5, 121, 134, 137, 140
Nevajra, 140
Nidānakathā, 122
Nikāya, 7
Nikosthemic, 81
Nīlakaṇṭha temple, 127
Ninerah, 175
Nirvāṇa, 156
Niṣpanna Yogāvali, 6, 139
Nitisāra, 60
Nivedana to śudhodhana, 4
Nose ornament, 3, 74-76
Nyagrodha Parimaṇḍala, 123

Occur, 135
Odautarpuri, 129
Oinochoc, 82
Oinochoi, 3
Old Testament, 74
Opaśa, 10
Orani, 3
Orissa, 77, 121

Pablu Vihāra, 180
Pādāghāta dohada, 120
Pāda Pīthas, 43
Padasannaka, 155
Padmapani, 131-133
Parisodhana maṇḍala, 132
Padmāsana, 130
Pāduka Nandana, 155
Paikpara district Dacca, 134
Paintings, 85
Palanguin, 97, 114, 115
Pali literature, 155
Pāli texts, 46
Pallaṇka, 46
Pallankasa, 47
Pallaṇkāsnas, 2, 43-46
Pallbogga, 149
Pallava, 9
Pallava art, 174
Palmyra, 95
Palmyr basket, 70
Palnād, 149
Palnād taluq, 68
Pāṁcaraksā, 129
Pāṇissara, 28
Pañcāṇgīka tūruyam, 28
Pañcajauja, 34
Pañchavargiyas, 45
Panchcholas, 26
Pāṇiṇi, 2, 26, 27, 43, 47, 50, 56, 60, 61, 62,
Pannava, 26
Paṇva, 26
Panīyaghata, 83
Parasū, 125
Pāraveyyaka, 147
Paribhogika, 7, 148
Parivāra Buddhas, 9, 179

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Parnasavani, 135
Parpā, 43, 50
Paryanka, 43, 44, 51
Paṭadakal, 126
Pāṭah kāla nāndi paṭah, 2
Pātaliputra 7, 153, 155
Paṭah, 2, 6, 27, 31, 35, 37
Patañjalis, 12, 27
Paṭṭadakal, 165
Pattiśa, 125
Pauni, 106
Peacock plume, 21
Peacock plume mode, 1, 116
Peddavegi, 6
Pedda veṇgi 126
Persians, 175
Persia, 72
Perumpānārrupadai, 29
Peshawar Valley, 77
Petchadu paka, 147
Phiale, 3
Pichchcholas, 26
Pichchoras, 28
Pike, 2, 5, 7, 61
Pillars, 181
Piṇgā, 25
Piplivana, 147
Pitalkhora, 164, 165, 168, 173
Piṭha, 48
Piṭhara, 27
Pithika, 43
Pittalak, 168
Plastic art, 76, 102
Pollannaruva, 180, 181
Pony tail, 1, 20, 21
Porunararr Up-padai, 29
Pots, 3
Prajñāpāramitā, 129
Prakosṭha valayas, 164
Prāsādikas, 18
Prasenajit Pillar, 173
Pratyālida pose, 133
Praveṇi, 1, 20
Praveṇī style, 18
Prccha, 5
Pretah paṭch, 2
Priyangu, 118
Promenada 151
Proṣṭha, 43
Proto-corinthian, 82
Pulasti, 10
Puli-judam, 73
Purāṇic, 8
Puraṇas, 4
Pūrṇakalaśa, 159
Pūrṇaghata, 8, 159-161
Pūrṇaghaṭa motif, 162
Pūrṇa Kuṁba, 159, 160
Pūrṇa Kuṃbha Kanya, 160
Puraṇikas, 111
Puṣhpabhadra Swamy temple, 181
Pushpaguccha, 102

Raghuvaṁśa, 12, 45, 58, 160, 167
Rahula, 107, 114
Rājasthan, 127
Rājataraṇgaṇi, 58
Relic Casket worship, 19
Ram, 95
Ramachandran, 149
Rāmagāma, 147
Rāmāyana, 1, 12, 26, 56, 74, 142, 167
Ramcar, 97
Ramcarts, 4
Rameses, 97
Rameśvara, 121
Rameśwaram, 5
Ratha-Īśā, 96
Ratna-Sambhava, 134, 185
Rāya asenaijja, 5, 122
Razor, 4, 86
Red Polished ware, 81

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Relics, 146
Religious Endowments Department Āndhra Pradesh, 113
Rgveda, 159
Rhodes, 167
Rhyton, 3
Rigveda, 10, 25, 50, 61, 77, 142
Rock edict at Briot, 147
Roman Empire, 16, 104
Roman origin, 82
Romans, 1, 14, 169
Roman Samian Ware, 81
Ṛtusaṃhāra, 12
Runavelli, 147
Runavelli stupa, 180
Rupamandana, 125, 126

Sabre, 57
Saḍakṣari, 129
Sadas, 43
Sadāśiva, 125
Sadhanamala, 6, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135 137, 139
Sādhana Tāntra, 8
Sagga, 28
Sāhitya Darpaṇa, 8, 161
Saitāditya VII, 60
Śaivas, 4, 111
Saivities, 181
Śaka-Pārthian toilets, 3
Śaka-Parthian period, 85
Śakyas, 19, 147
Salihundam, 2, 7, 13, 131, 135, 136, 148
Śālabhañjias, 122
Śālabhañjikā, 118, 121
Samadhaṇga posture, 126
Samarāngaṇa, 5
Samarāṇgaṇā sūtradhāra, 122
Saman ware, 81
Saṁhitas, 11, 25, 43, 48, 50
Sammatāla, 28
Samundragupta, 58, 61
Samundragupta's pillar inscription, 62
Samundagaka, 149
Sanbhāgya, 74
Sancers, 3
Sañchī, 5, 7, 8, 16, 21, 63, 77, 83, 97, 106, 120, 122, 153, 155, 157, 161, 162, 166, 168, 169, 174, 172, 179
Sanchi figures, 120
Sanchi relief, 60, 61, 63, 166
Sanchi sculptures, 164
Sanchi torana, 172
Sangam literature, 1, 28
Saṇgha, 146
Sanghashi, 156
Sankarācharya's stotras, 74
Sankaram, 148
Saṇkha, 27, 30
Sankhya jigñasa, 111
Sāntideva, 129
Sārada, 148
Sāraṇgadharma, 62
Saraśvati, 32
Saree, 4
Sari, 103, 105
Sārīraka, 7, 148
Sarka, 81
Sarnath, 129, 161, 180
Sarpa, 125
Sarpa-Kuṇḍalas, 164, 168
Sarpālaṇkaras, 125
Saptatantri Vīṇā, 30
Sassanian, 82, 93
Śatapatha, 11
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 142
Sātavāhada period, 1, 14, 15, 19, 75, 115, 116
Sātavāhana dynasty, 149
Sattango, 43
Saundaryalahari, 74
Śayana, 43
Śayya, 43
Schools of Indian Act, 77

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Sculptor of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 1
Sculptures of Sanchi, 81, 82, 94, 96
Sculpture of Yakṣiṇi, 120
Seats and stools, 2
Seria, 84
Sevan-keyed flute, 25
Shari, 175
Shield, 57, 63
Shokwan-von, 153
Sibi Jataka, 59
Siddārtha, 46, 97, 107
Sikhā, 10, 11
Śikhaṇḍa, I, 10, 12, 14, 19, 20
Siksa-Sammuccya, 129
Silapdikāram, 28
Silpa Text, 13
Siman, 10, 11
Simhala Avadana, 38
Siṁhāsana, 43-45
Sirimā devatā, 122
Sinjerli, 167
Sir Leonard Wooley, 31
Śiva, 6, 29, 35, 125, 126, 160
Sivarmamurti, 93
Sixth sense, 110
Skānda Purāṇa, 126
Slings, 56
Snake-Charming, 3, 72, 73
Snake bracelets, 167, 168
South Indian Bronzes, 13
South Indian Stupas, 7
Sompara, 135
Song yun, 7, 155
Sparsa dohaḍa, 120 121
Spear, 2, 56, 57, 60, 61
Spouted, 3
Spouted vessels, 78, 81, 82
Sranta Sūtras, 26
Srasvasti, 147
Śretāmbara text, 122
Sri-Lakṣmi, 122
Sri Lanka, 9
Stanāmśuka, 103
Stanapaṭṭika, 103
Stanottarīya, 106
States of South India, 69
Stick-play, 3, 72, 73
Stools, 48
Stonemeces, 59
Stringdrum, 30
Stūpa, 146, 154
Stūpa-chaitya, 154
Subhāshitāvali, 5, 120, 122
Sudaraśana, 125
Śuddha Śaiva School of Śaivism, 125
Śuddodhana, 49, 107, 108
Sūdrsti, 14
Sukhavātiyuha, 129
Sukrāchārya, 60
Sukranītisāra, 29
Śula, 125
Sumaṇgala Vilāsinī, 144, 167
Sunga, 181
Suṇga period, 119,
Suprabhedagama, 44
Surāhi, 81
Susira, 27
Sussanid Persians, 175
Sūtras, 1, 26, 58
Sutta, 157
Suttavighaṇga, 50
Svastīka, 153
Swat valley, 156
Sword, 2, 57, 58
Śyāma Jātaka, 172
Syāmatārā, 135, 136
Syāmatārā Sompada, 136
Syrian period, 175

Tabora, 35
T.A. Gopinath, 45
Tailamañjūṣa, 86
Taittirīya Saṁhitā, 11, 142
Taittiriya Brāhmaṇ, 11, 50

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Tata, 27
Talpa, 43, 50
Talukavīṇas, 26
Tamil literature, 2, 28, 29
Tamilnādu, 69
Tanjore district, 127
Tantric Buddhism, 135
Tantric icons, 130, 139
Tārā, 136
Tārā Dhyāni Buddhas, 129
Tathāgata, 146
Tathāgatas, 129
Taxila, 79, 85
Temple car festivals, 73
Temple of Amareśvara, 113
Terracotta female figurine, 75
Tiara, 21
Tibet, 133, 140
Tilaka, 118
Tirhaka Captives, 175
Tikari billa, 69
Tissa, 155
Thārghara, 26
Tharjharika, 20
Thebes, 97
The little clay cart, 30
Theravāda, 154
Thrones, 2, 45
Thuderbolt, 2, 57, 61
Thyrsos, 86
Toiletarticles, 3
Tora karuvi, 28
Toy boxes, 70
Trays, 85
Tree-goddess, 121
Tribhaṇga posture, 9
Triratna, 153
Tripurasura, 35
Trough, 3, 83
Tulaikkaruvi, 28
Tunava, 25-27
Turkestan, 103
Tūryavādya, 29

Ucchuṣma, 129
Udakamaṇika, 83
Udayana, 167
Uddeśika, 7, 148
Ugarit, 175
Ugratārā, 136
Ujjam, 14
Upaniṣhads, 1, 4, 25, 43, 111
Upper garment, 105
Ur, 31
Uraṇa, 9, 81
Urdhvaka mṛdanga, 30
Uruvela, 48
Uttar Pradesh, 127

Vādana, 25
Vādya, 30
Vahalkade, 180
Vahya, 43
Vaidyesvaran koyil, 127
Vaikh, G.S., 11
Vaishṇavites, 181
Vaisali 143, 147
Vaisṇava caves, 5
Vaituly ayādins, 182
Vajra, 61, 133
Vajrāsana, 131, 133
Vājasaneyi Saṁhita, 50
Vajrapāṇi, 82, 174
Vajraparyaṇka pose, 133
Vajrayāna Buddhism, 129
Vajrayogini temple, 137
Vākātāka-Gupta period, 14, 18
Valkala, 105
Vallabhadera, 122
Vallaki, 29
Vāṇī 25
Vānīcī, 25
Vaṁsa, 26
Vaṁsadhāra, 148

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Vaṁśakrtya, 29
Vases, 3, 82
Vasudhāra, 129
Vātsyāyana, 28
Vatulasuddhagama, 6, 125
Vedas, 1, 50
Vedic age, 58, 60
Vedic, 8
Vedic India, 43, 56, 62
Vedic Kalpa Sūtras, 11, 56, 60
Vedic Literature, 10, 25, 43, 50, 70, 74, 159
Vedic ritual, 142
Vedic texts, 104
Vedic yajña, 143
Veil, 105
Velrapaṭṭika, 52
Veṇu, 29, 30
Vessels, 3
Vetrāsama, 44
Viajjam Shrines, 143
Vibhajjavāda school, 154
Vijayapuri, 68
Vikramasīla, 129
Vikrampur, 135
Villanvan, 81
Viṇā, 17, 25-27, 29, 32, 33, 38
Vinaya, 50
Vinaya Pitakas, 45, 50
Vinaya texts, 43, 82, 105
Vipañci, 26
Viṣhṭara, 43
Viṣtara, 44
Viśvantara Jātaka, 34, 36, 96
Vitate, 27
Vṛṣhabha, 9
Voharika Tissa, 182

Walagambabu, 156
Watpo temple, 157
Water Transport, 98
Wicker stand, 2, 49
Wig, 14
Wine bags, 3, 84
Wine-cups, 3, 78
Wine-Skin, 3, 84
Wine-Vats, 3, 84
Wheel Charis, 2, 50
Wheel of Somsara, 36
Woman and treemotif, 119
Wrestling, 71
Wrestling matches, 3

Yājñavalkya, 143
Yajurveda, 25
Yakṣas, 143
Yakṣis, 123
Yakṣhas, 19
Yaṁuna, 160
Yaśodhara, 5, 97, 108, 114
Yekka Cetiyanī, 114
Yogini, 4, 111
Yuan Chwang, 14, 30
Yukti Kalpataru, 58
Yukti Kalpataruvu, 63
Yupas, 142, 143
Yusufzai, 36

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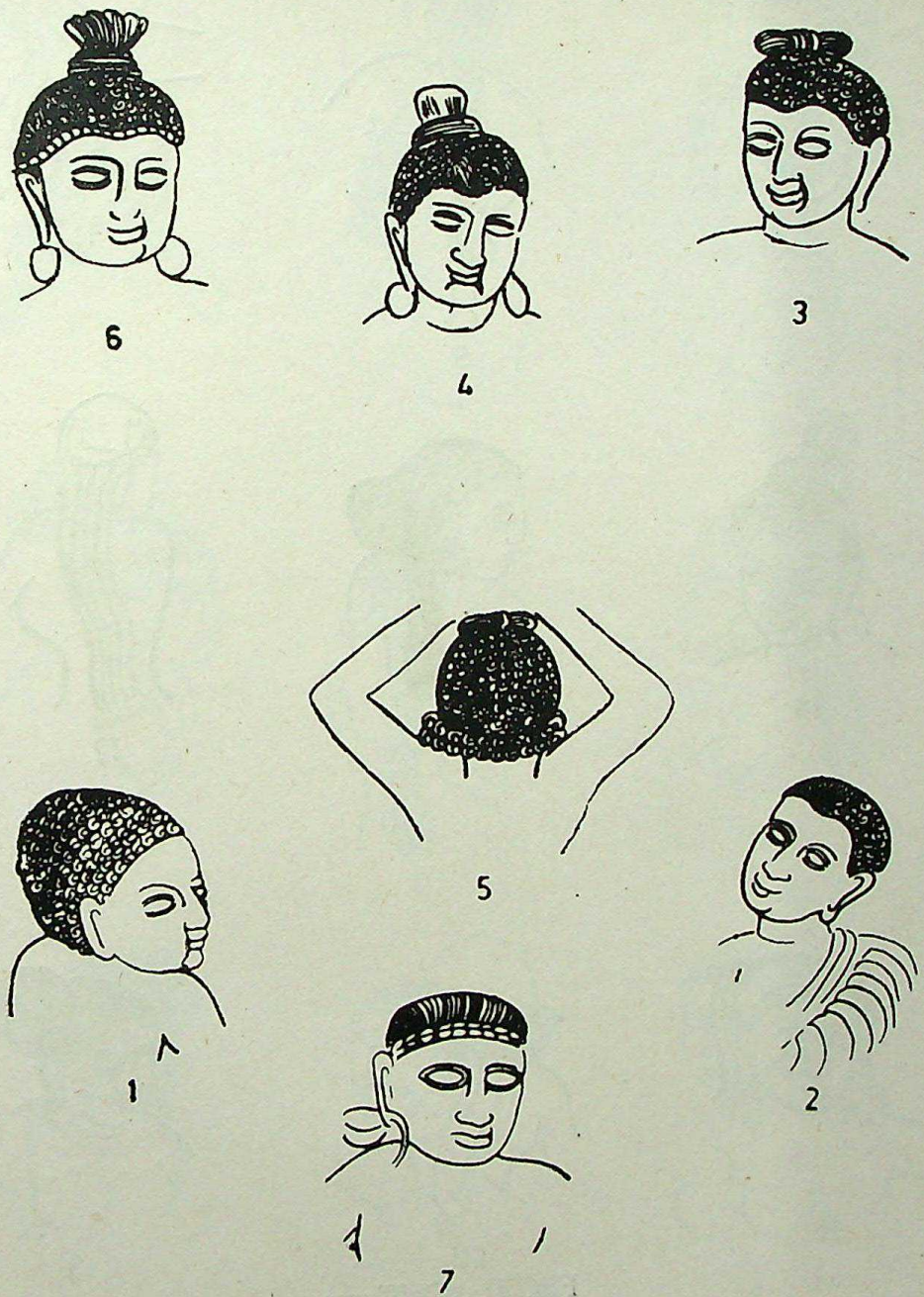

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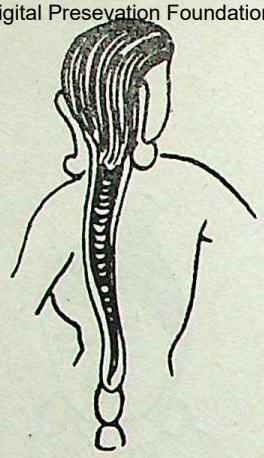
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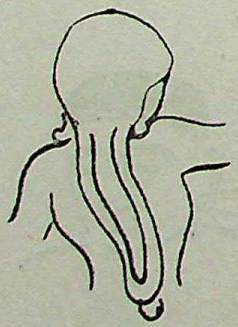
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Fig. II Coiffures.

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Fig. III Coiffures.

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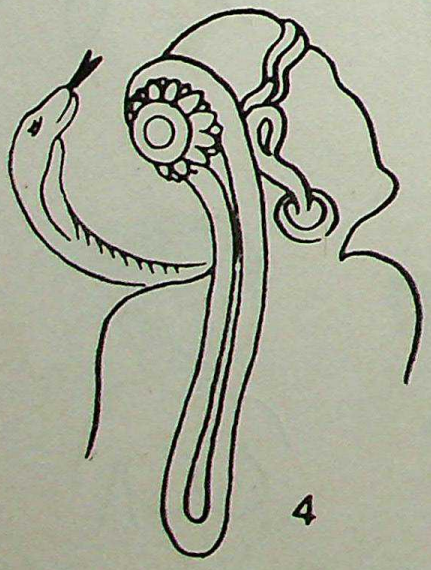

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Fig. IV Coiffures.

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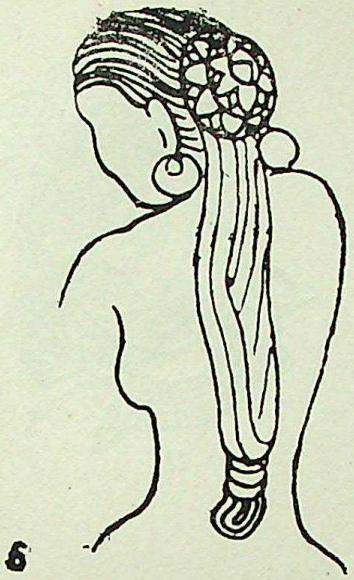

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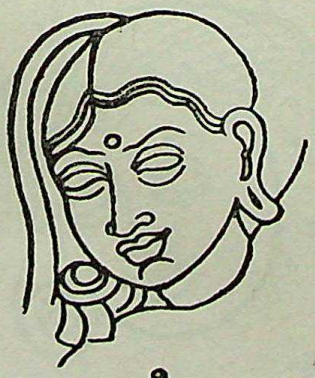

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Fig. VI Coiffures.

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Fig. VII Coiffures.

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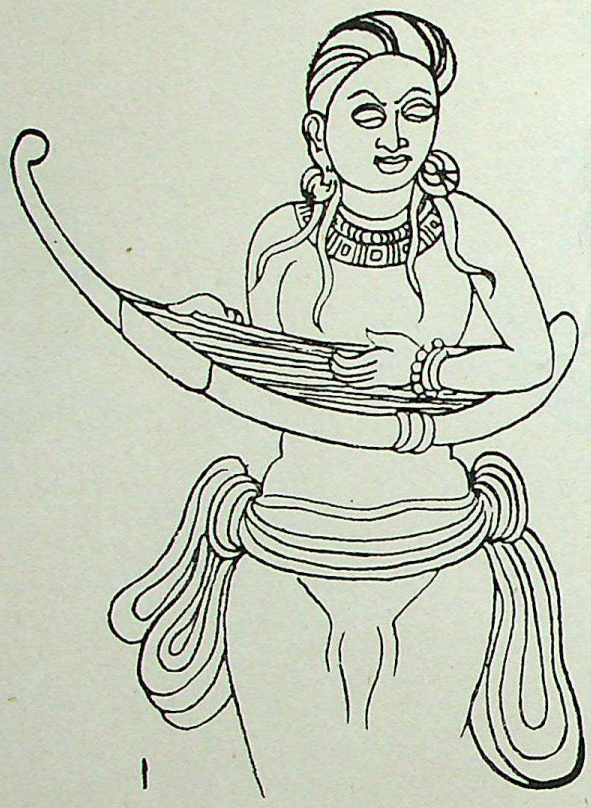

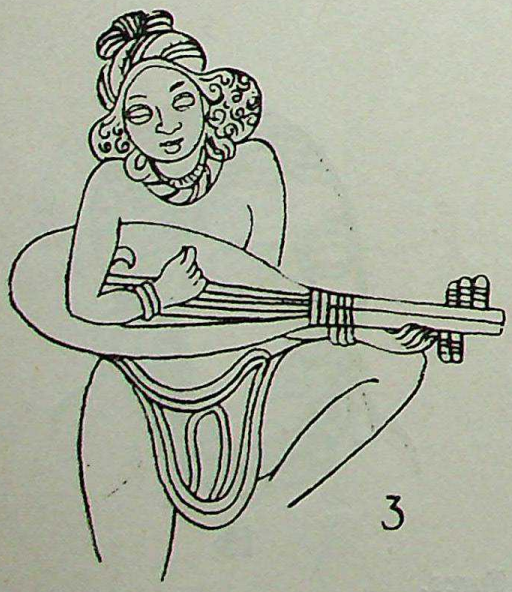

Fig. VIII Musical Instruments.

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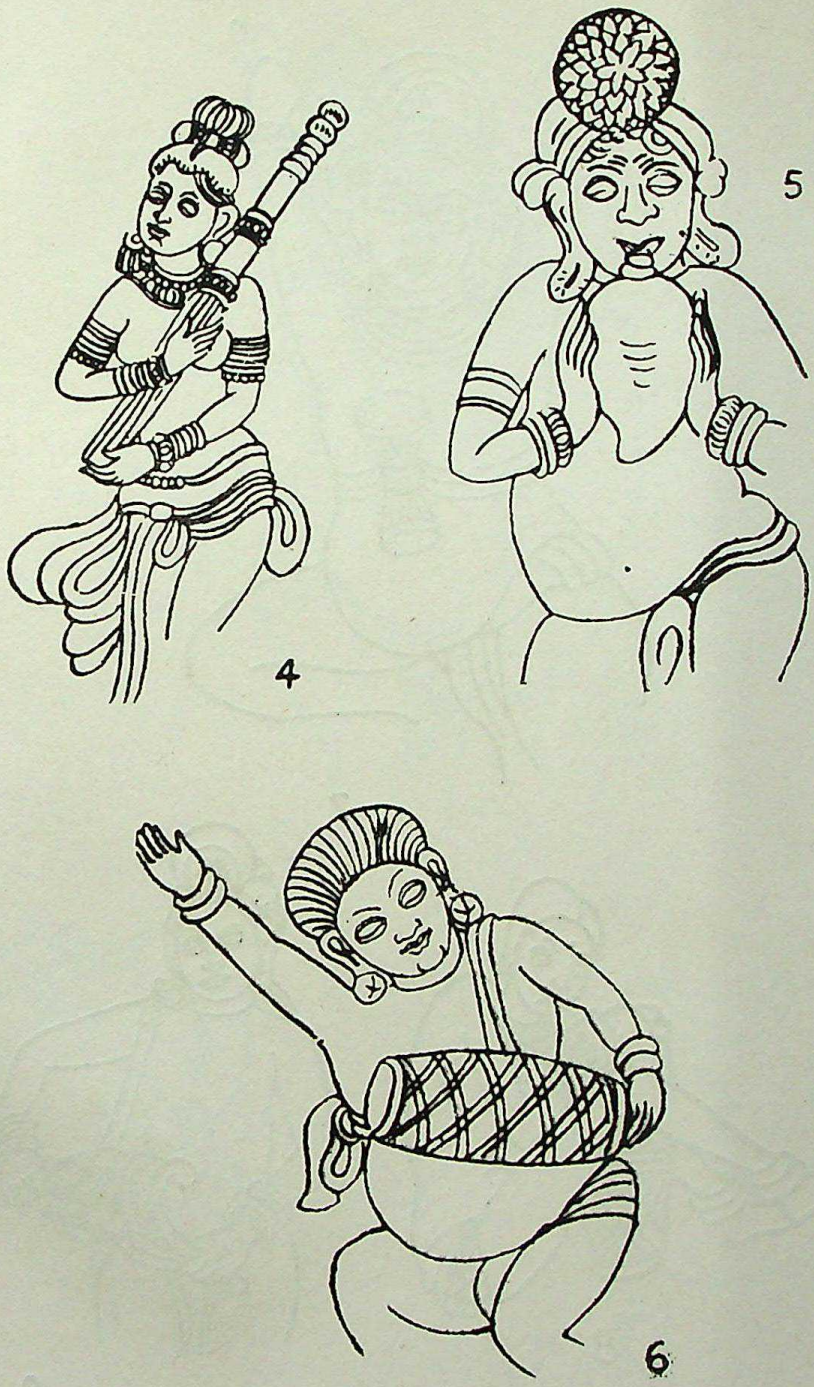

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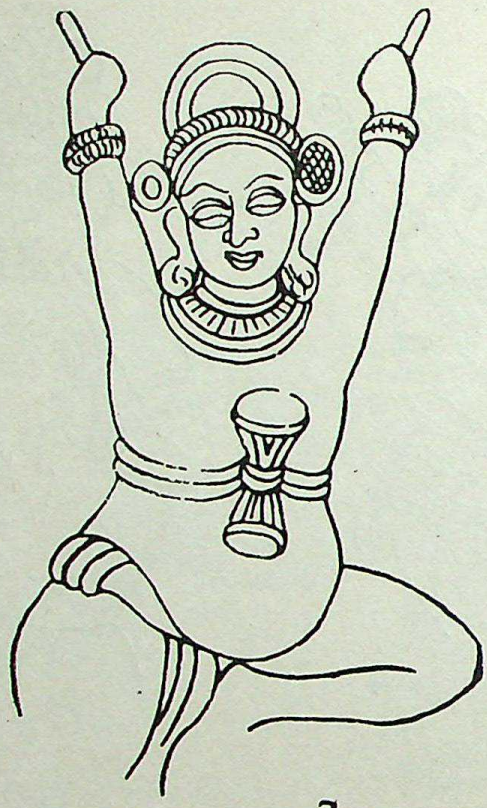

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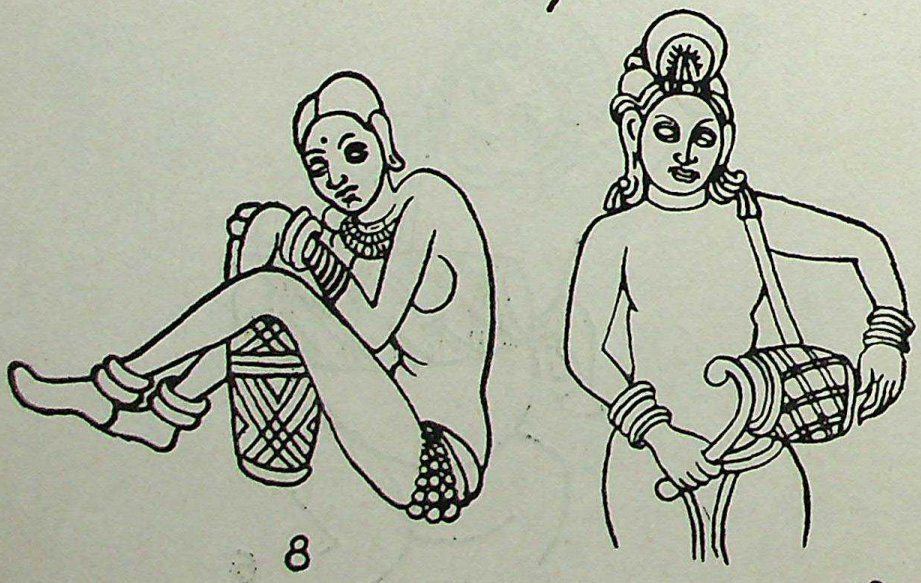

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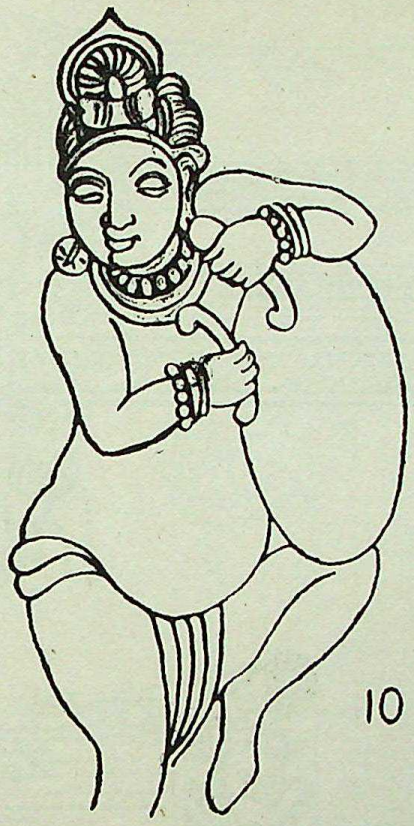

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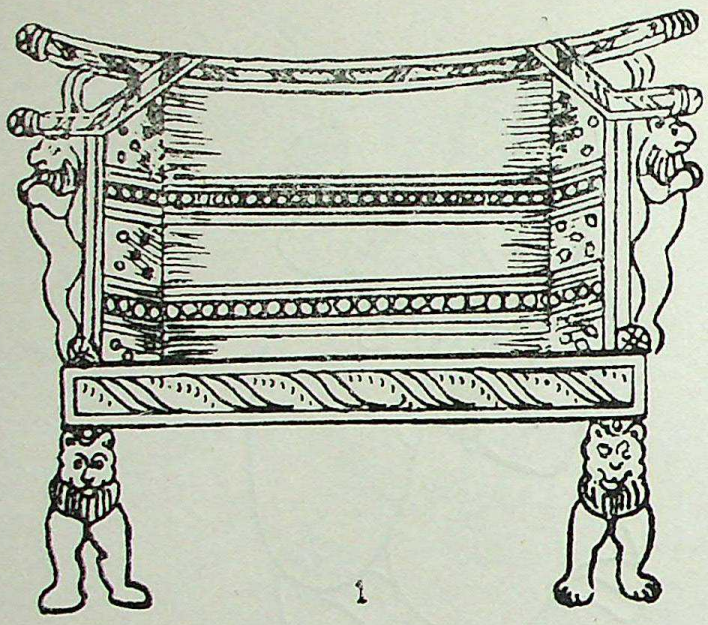

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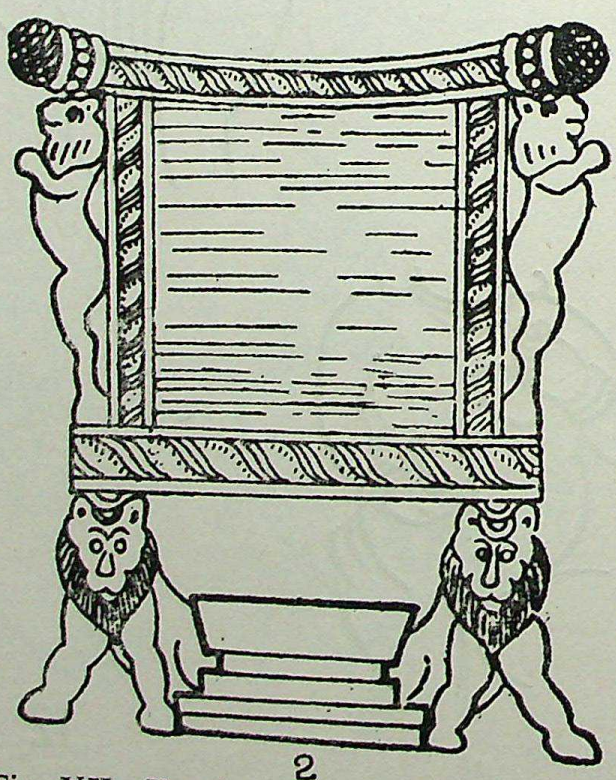

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Fig. XII Furniture.

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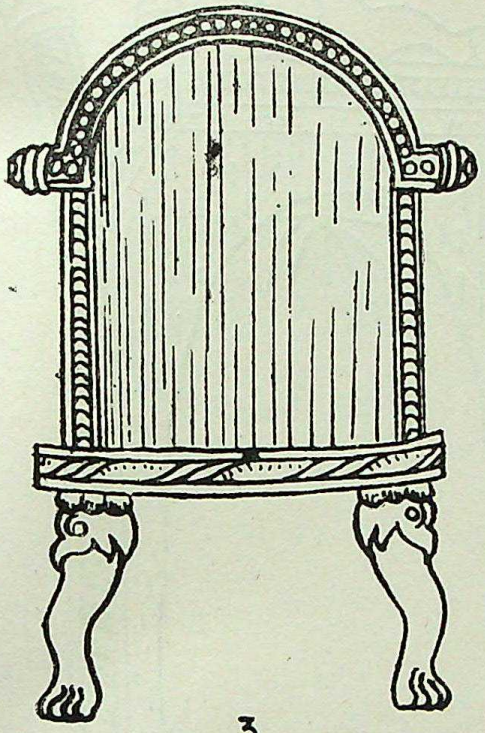

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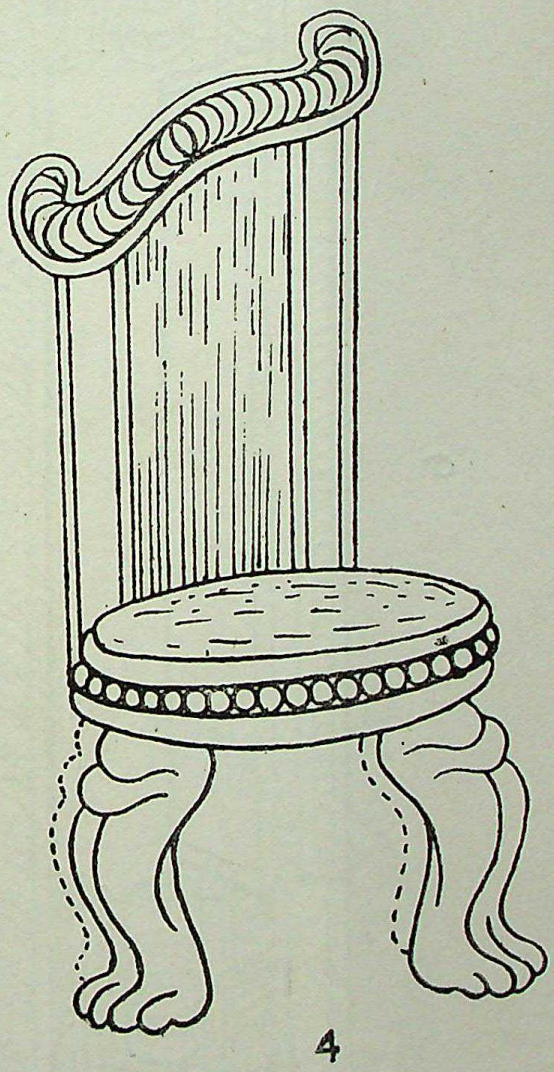

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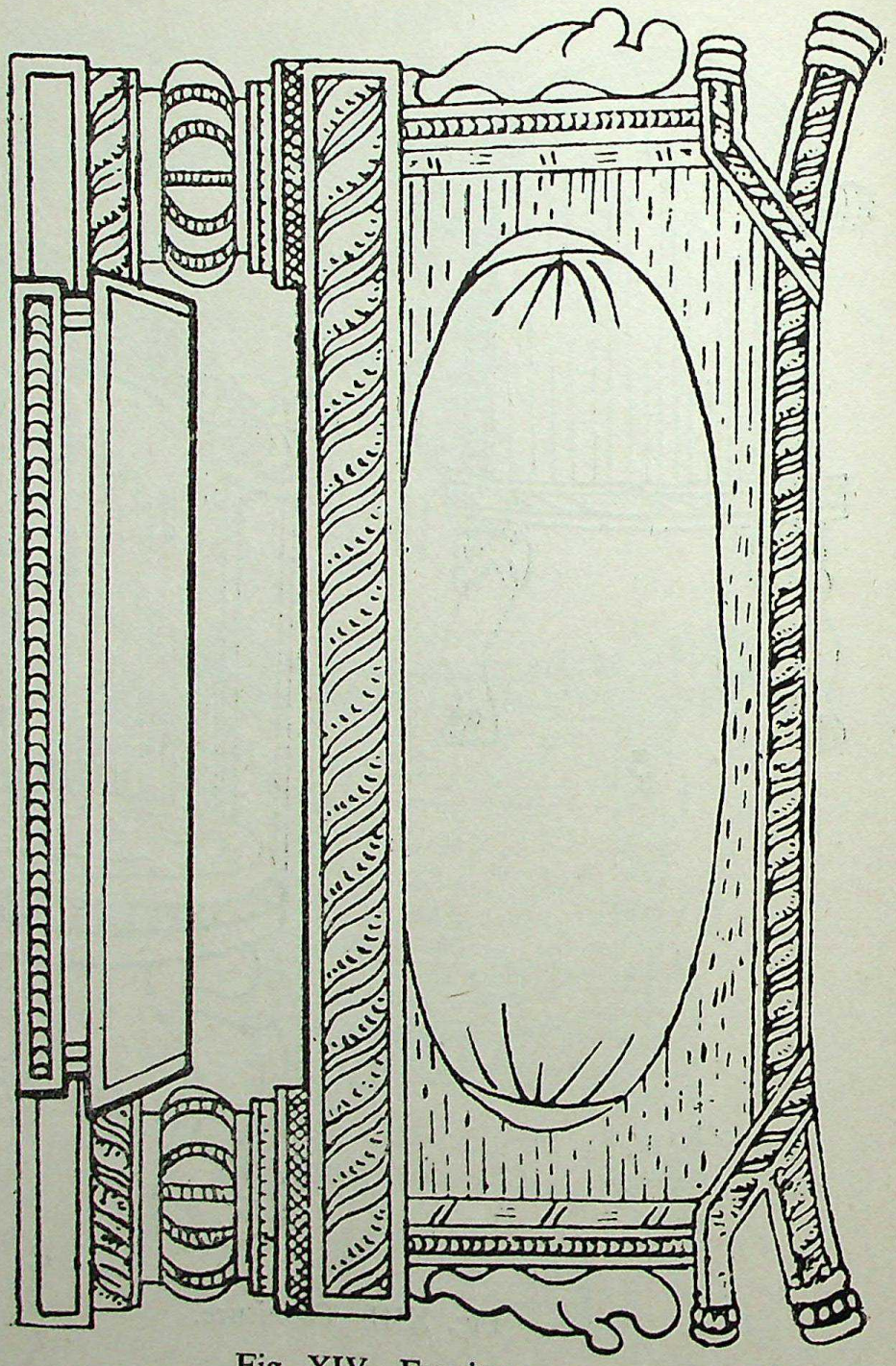

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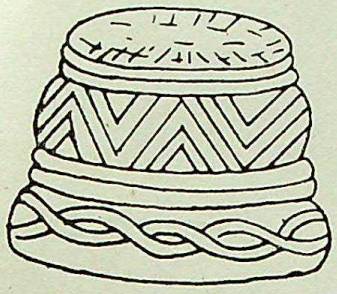

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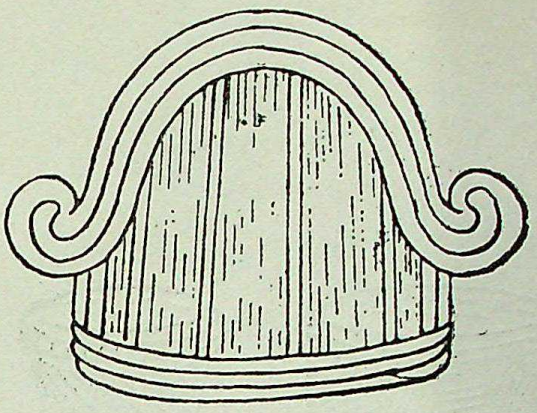

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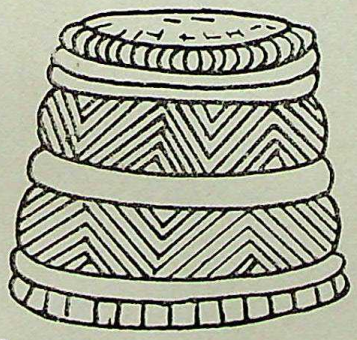

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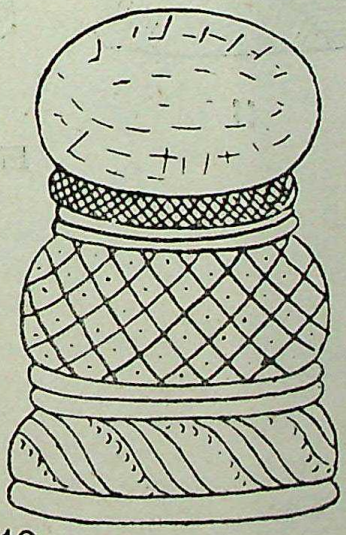

10

Fig. XV Furniture.

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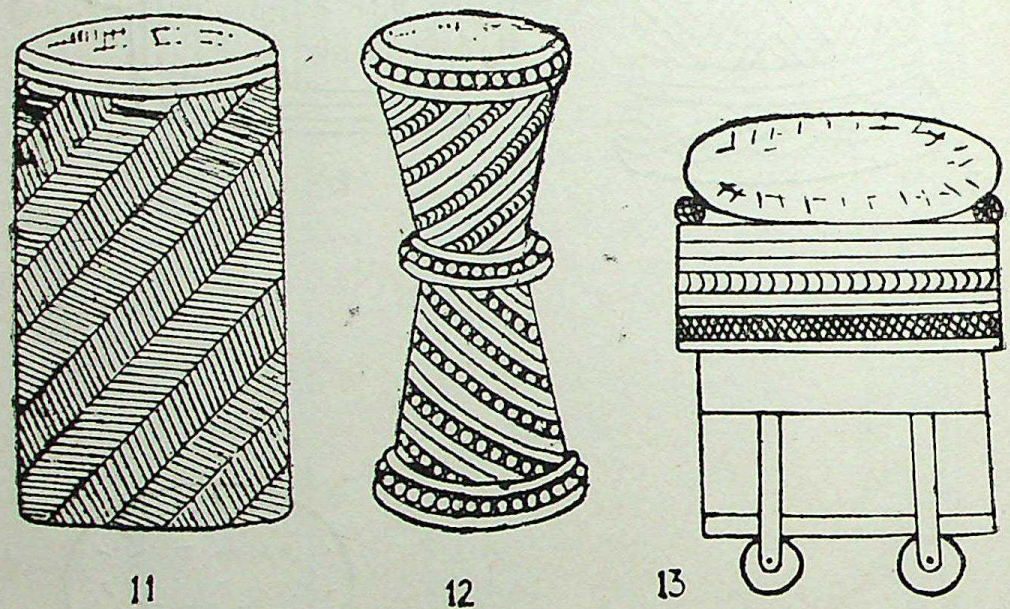

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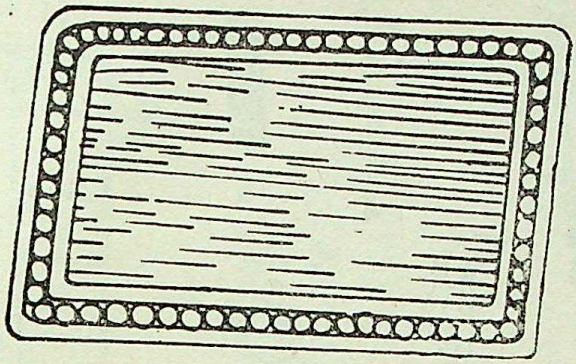
Fig. XVI Furniture.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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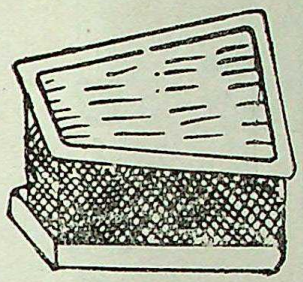

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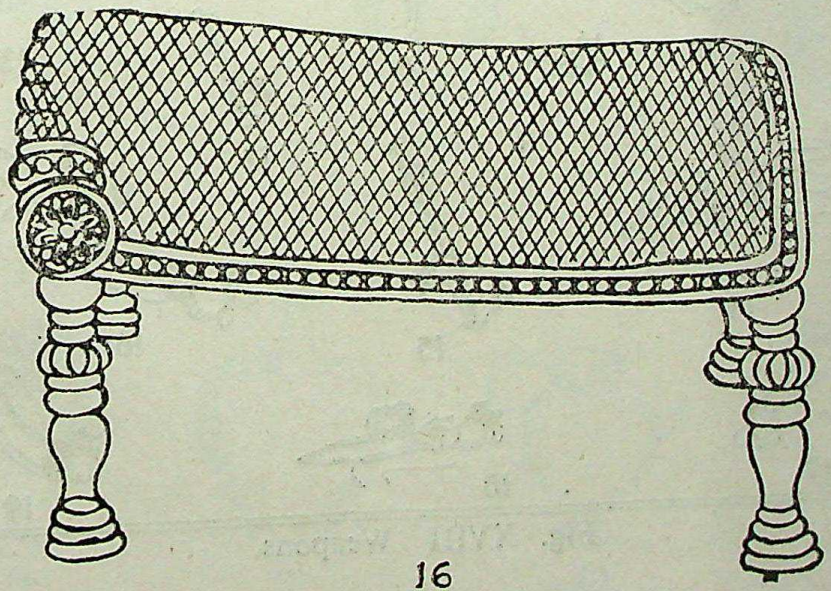

16

Fig. XVII Furniture.

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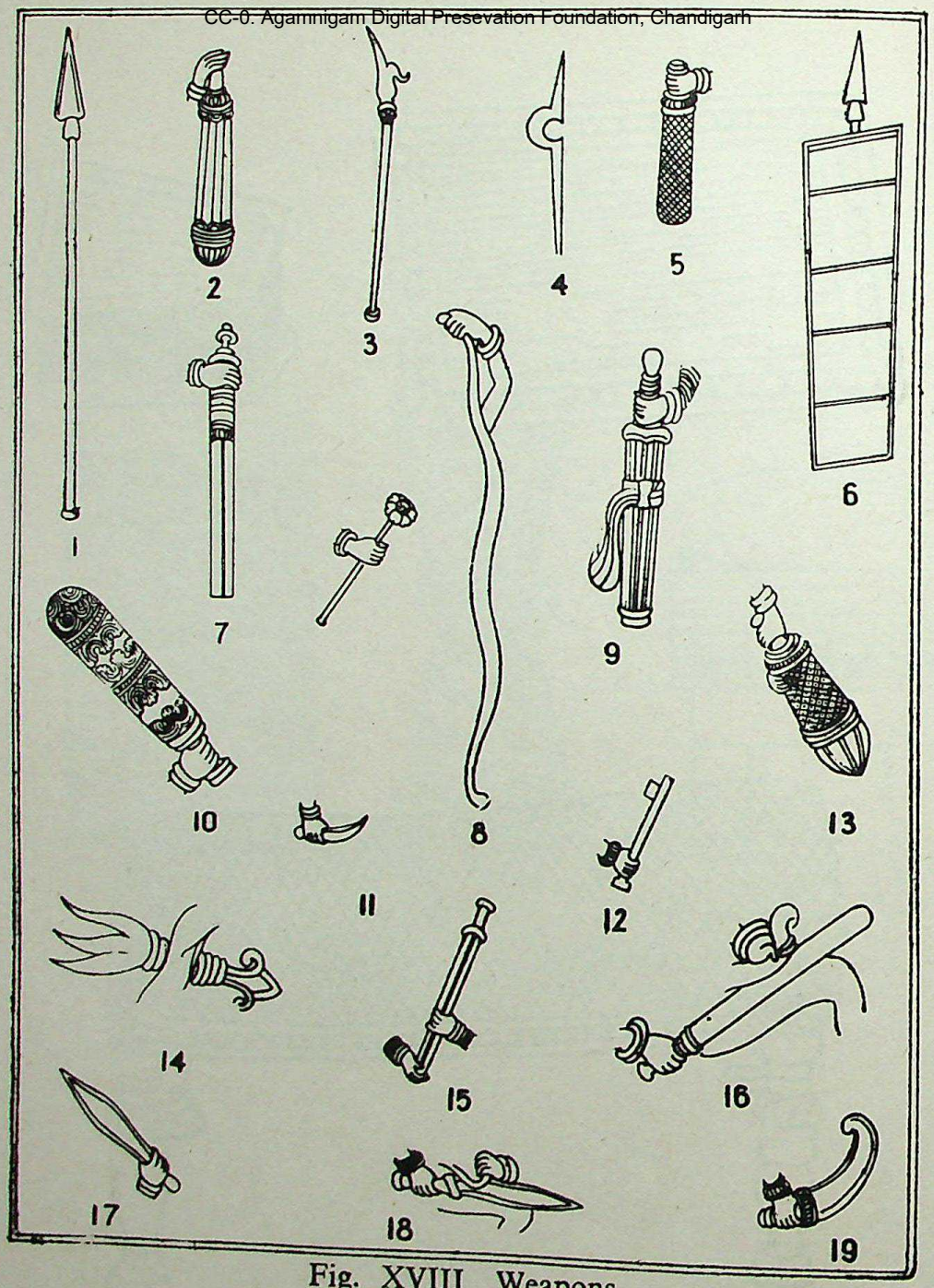

Fig. XVIII Weapons.

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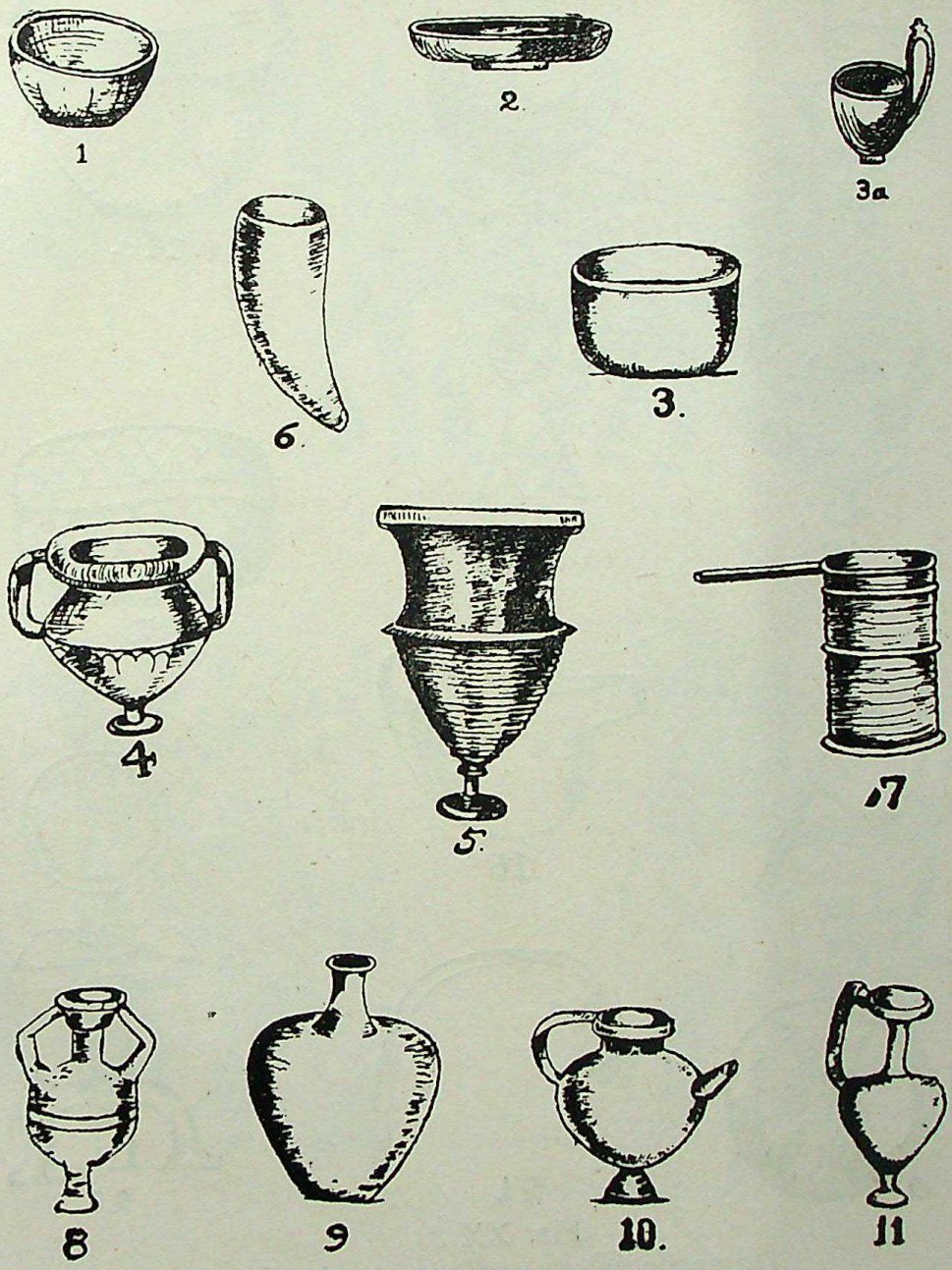


Fig. XIX Domestic vessels.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

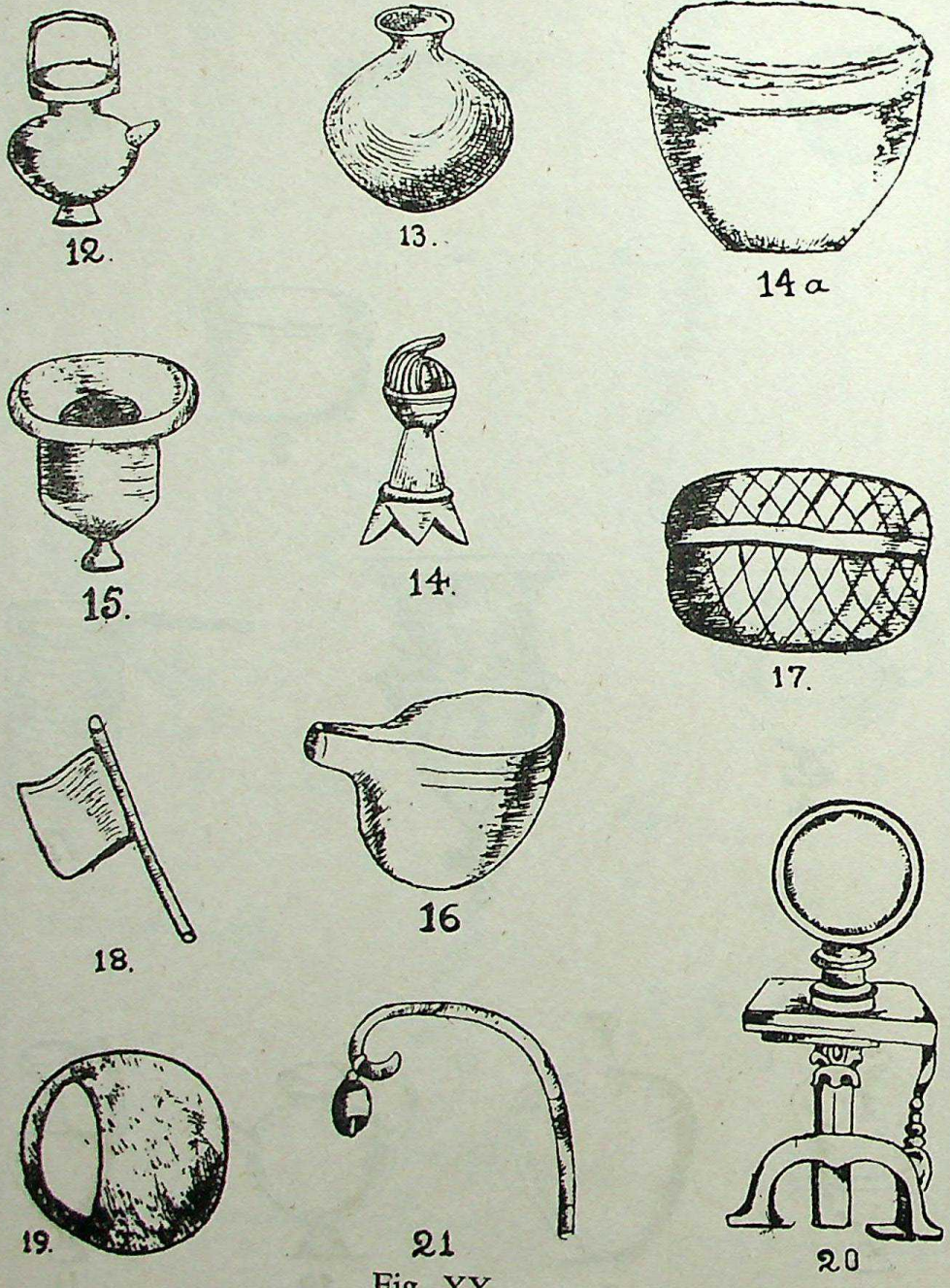


Fig. XX
Domestic vessels and household objects.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

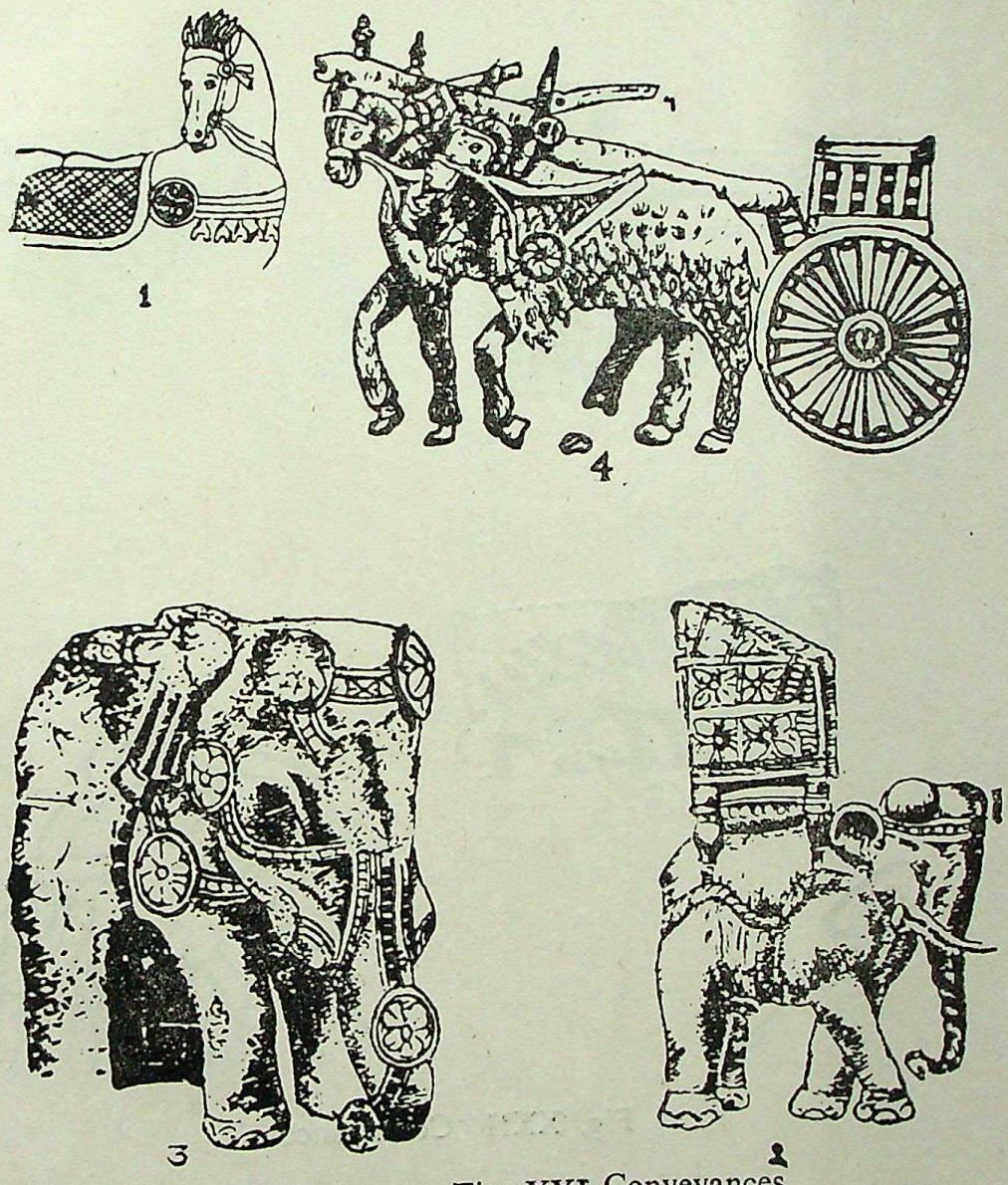
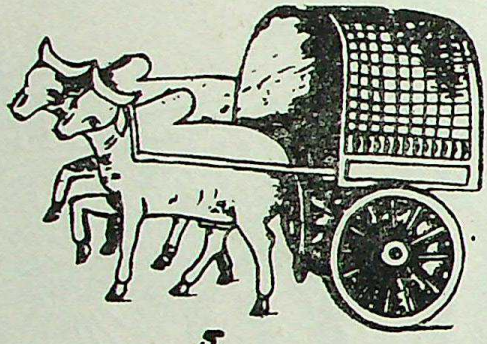


Fig. XXI Conveyances.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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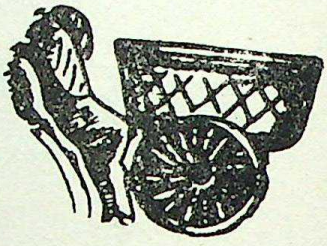

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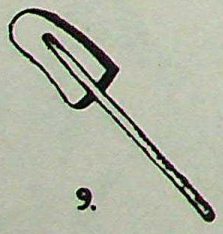

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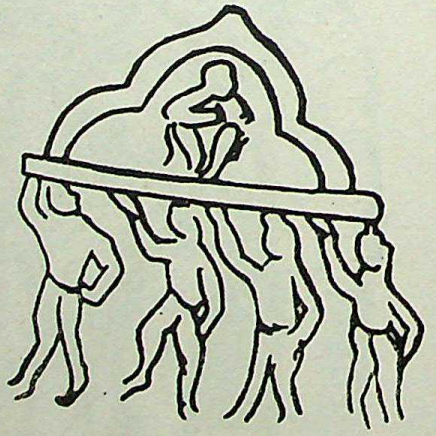

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Fig. XXII Conveyances.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

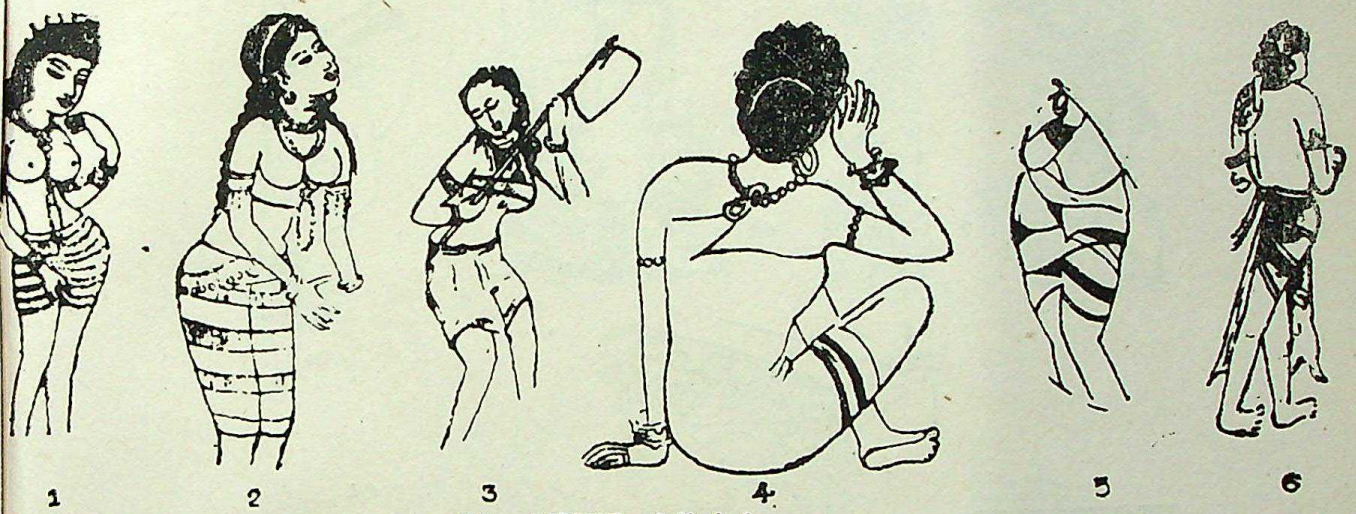

Fig. XXIII Mini dresses.

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Fig. XXIV Dohada.

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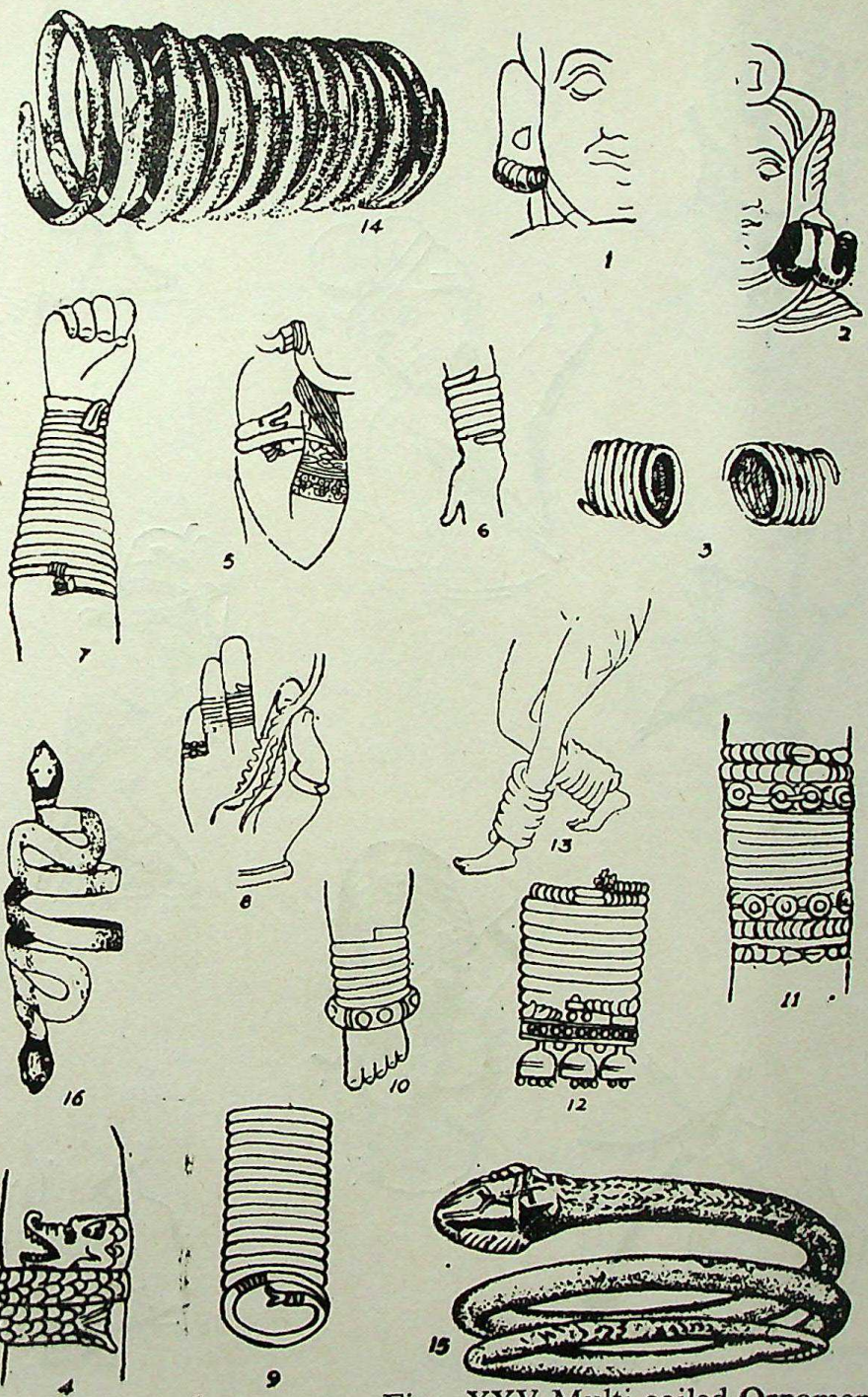

Fig. XXV Multi-coiled Ornaments.

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Fig. XXVI Channavira Vaikakṣhaka.

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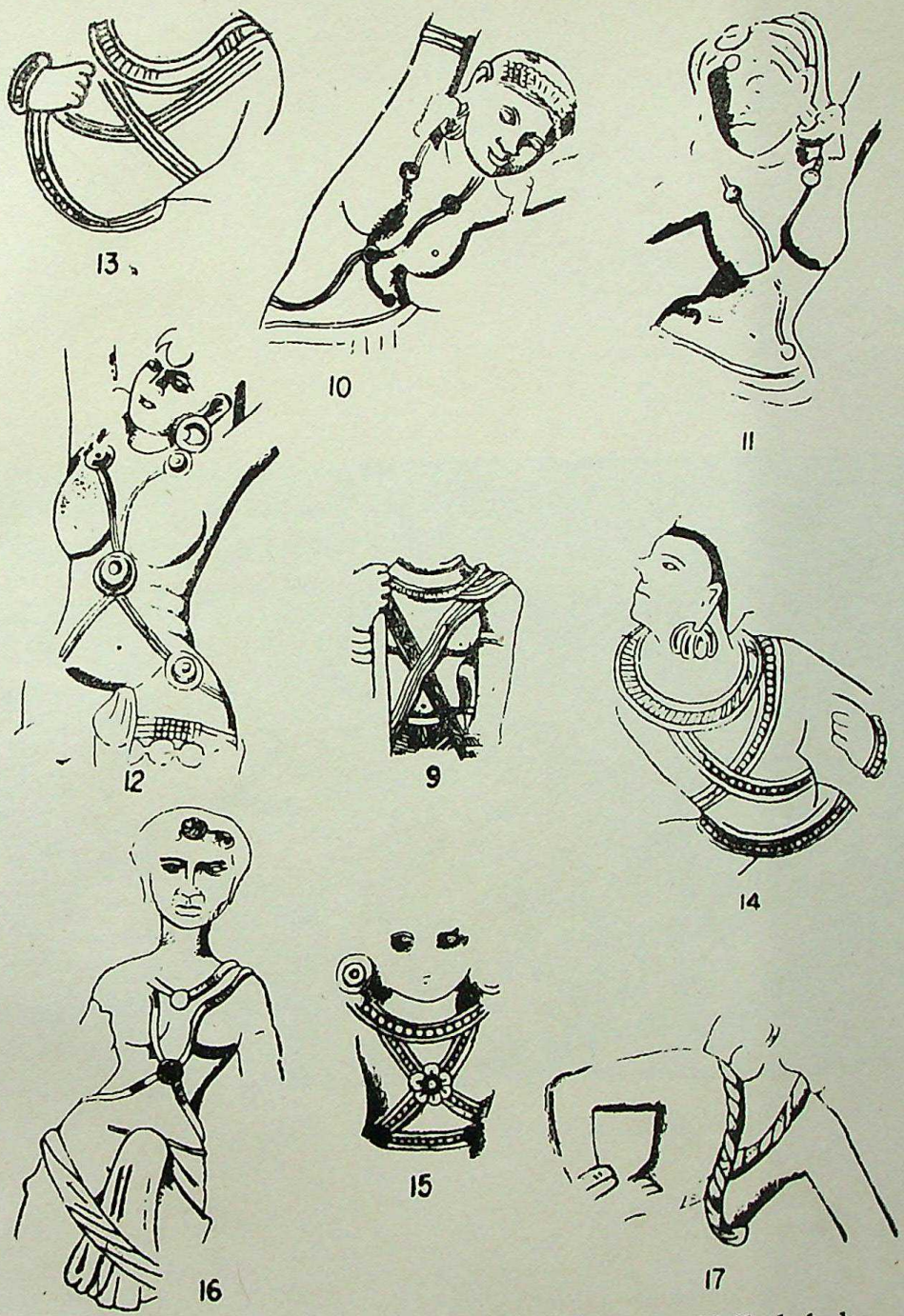

Fig. XXVII Channavira Vaikakṣhaka.

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I. Master-piece sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

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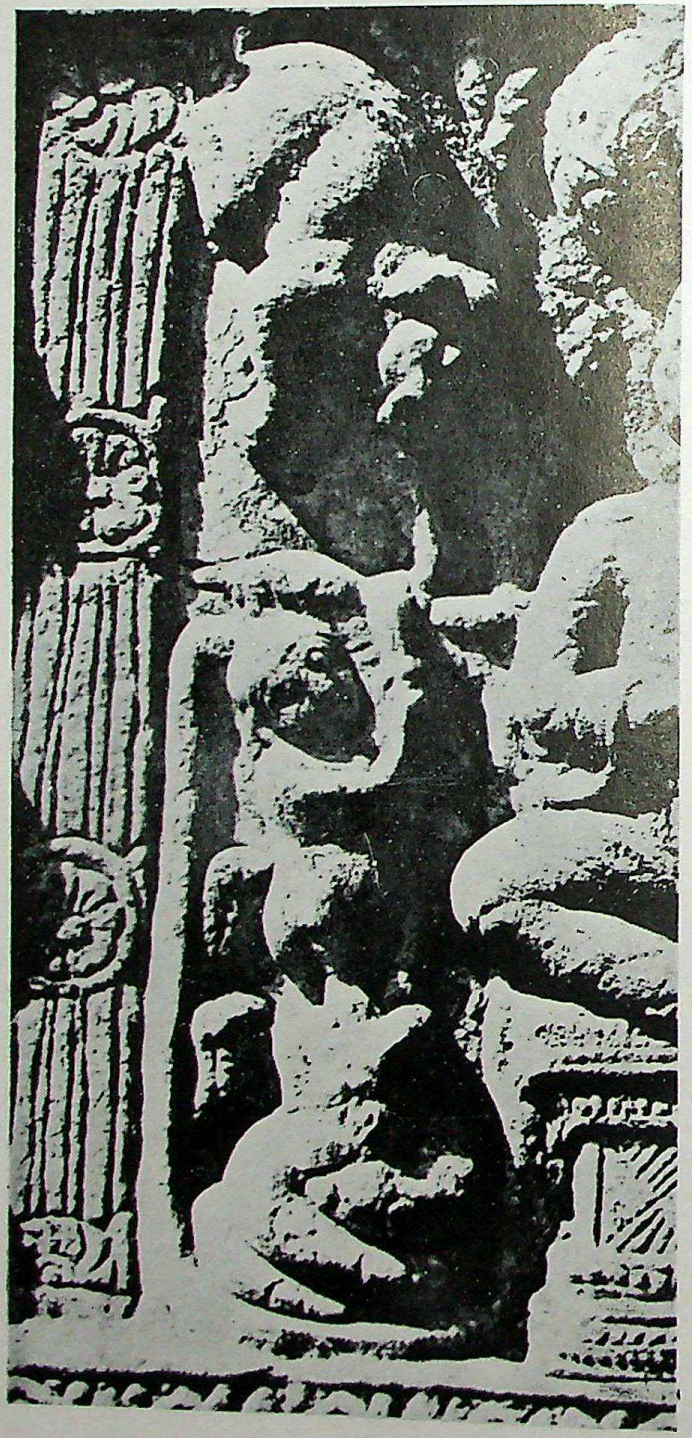
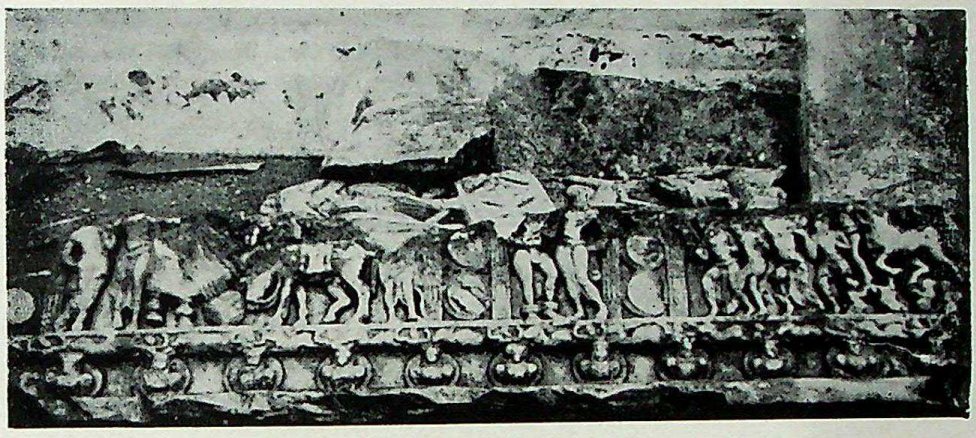


II. Madhu Bindu.

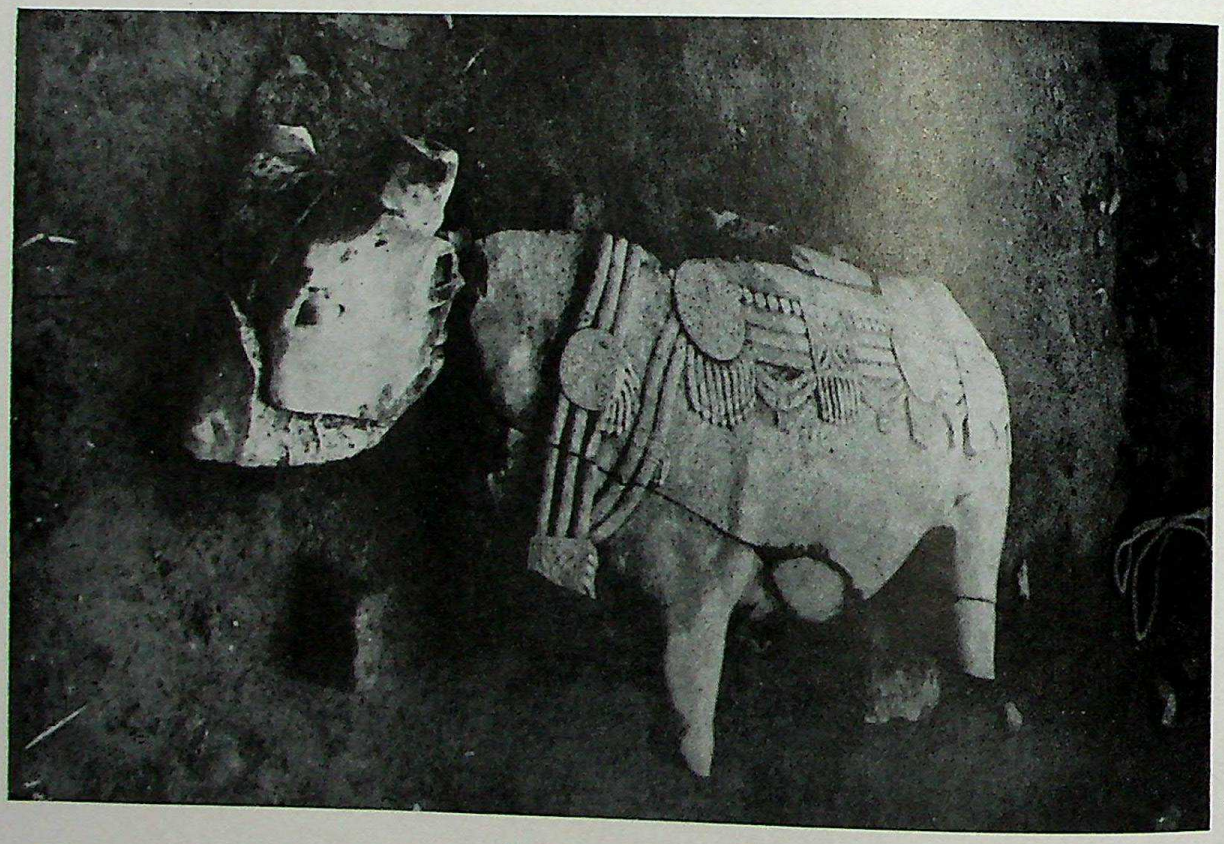
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



III. Great Renunciation and Kantaka's adoration to Buddha-pāda.

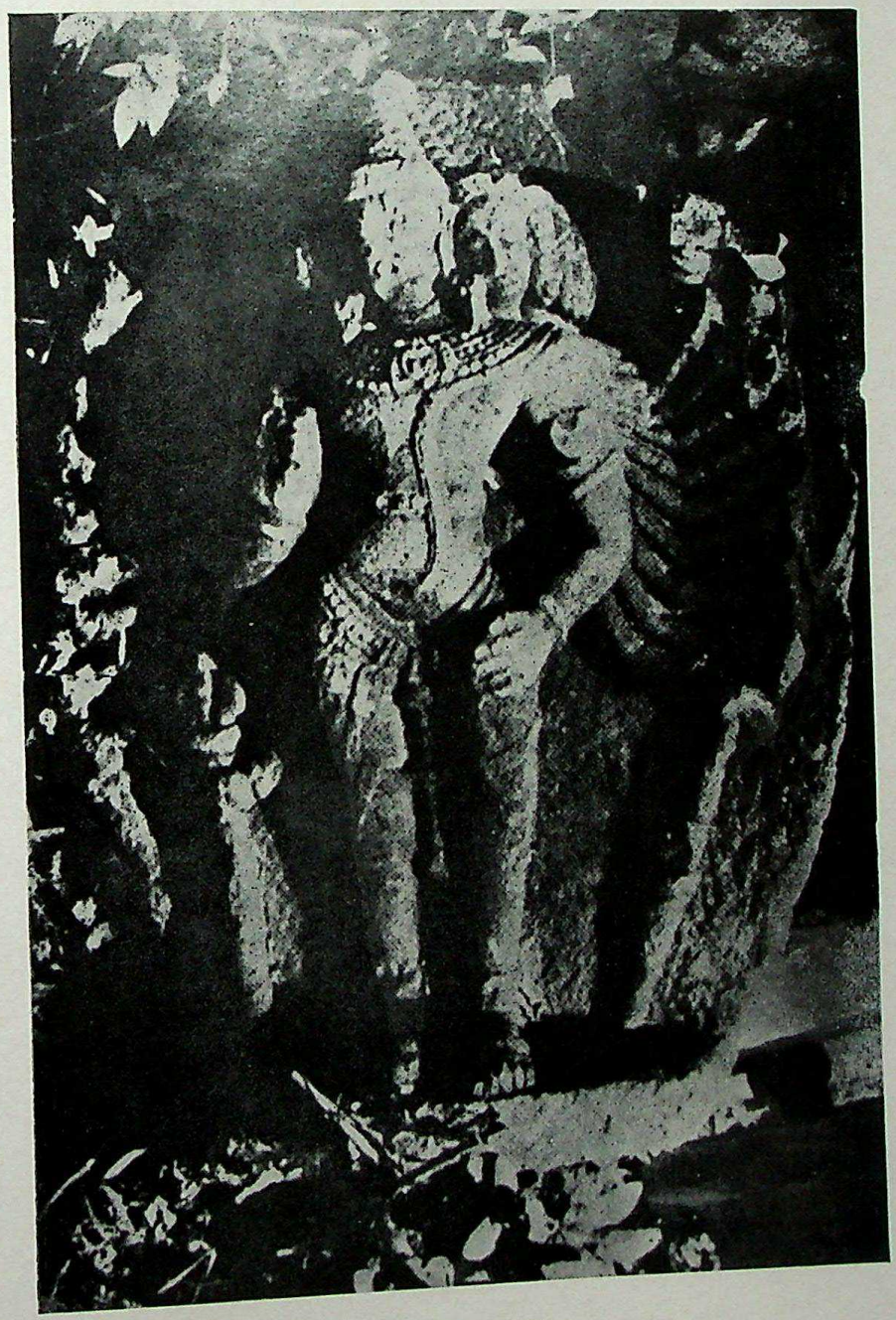
IV. Yakṣī, Gandharva, goat and parrot.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



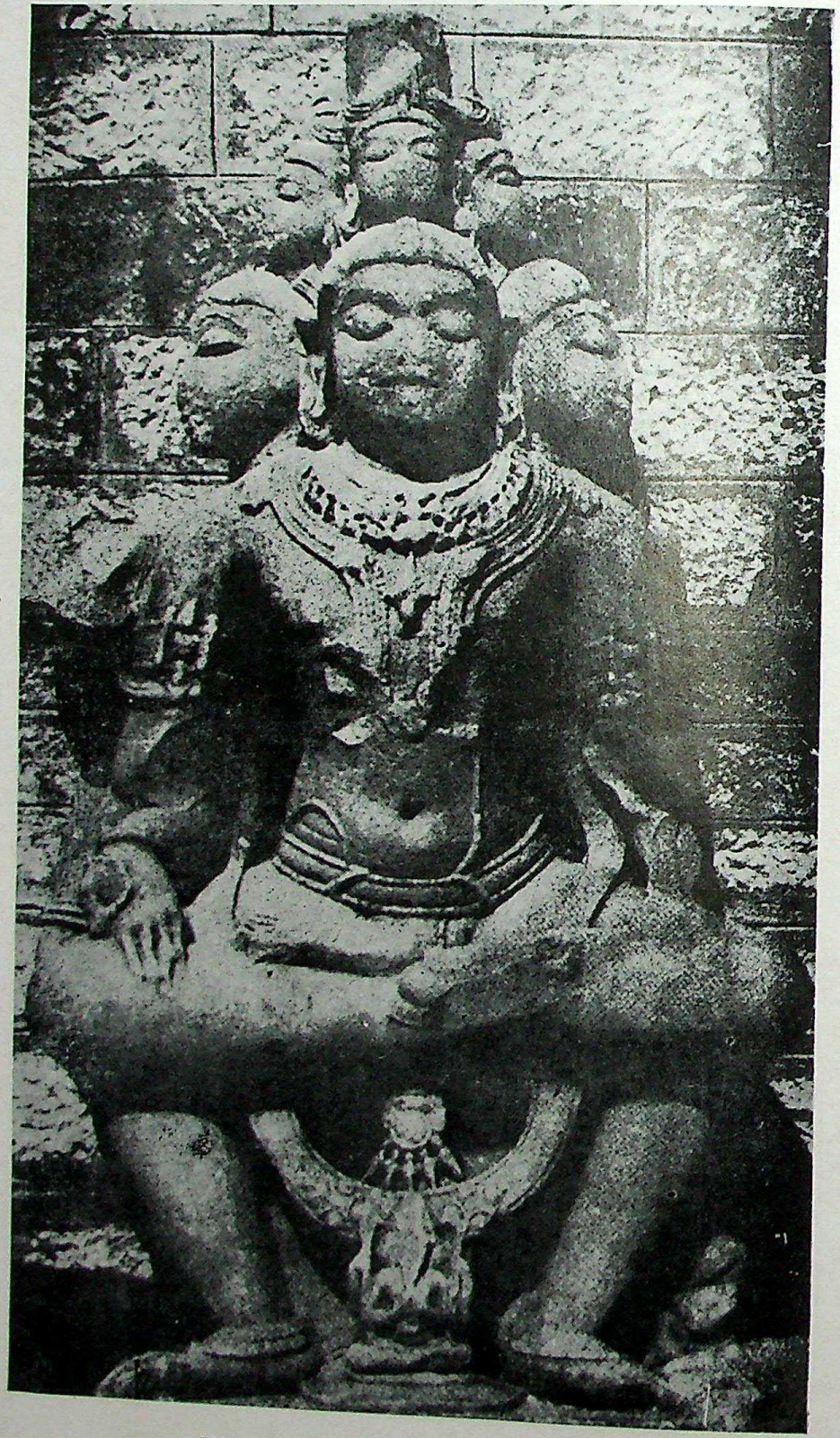
V. Nandi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



VI. Mahāsadāśiva.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



VII. Chatuṣpāda Mahāsadāśiva.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

VIII. Mahāsadāśiva

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

IX. Buddha.

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X. Maitreya.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

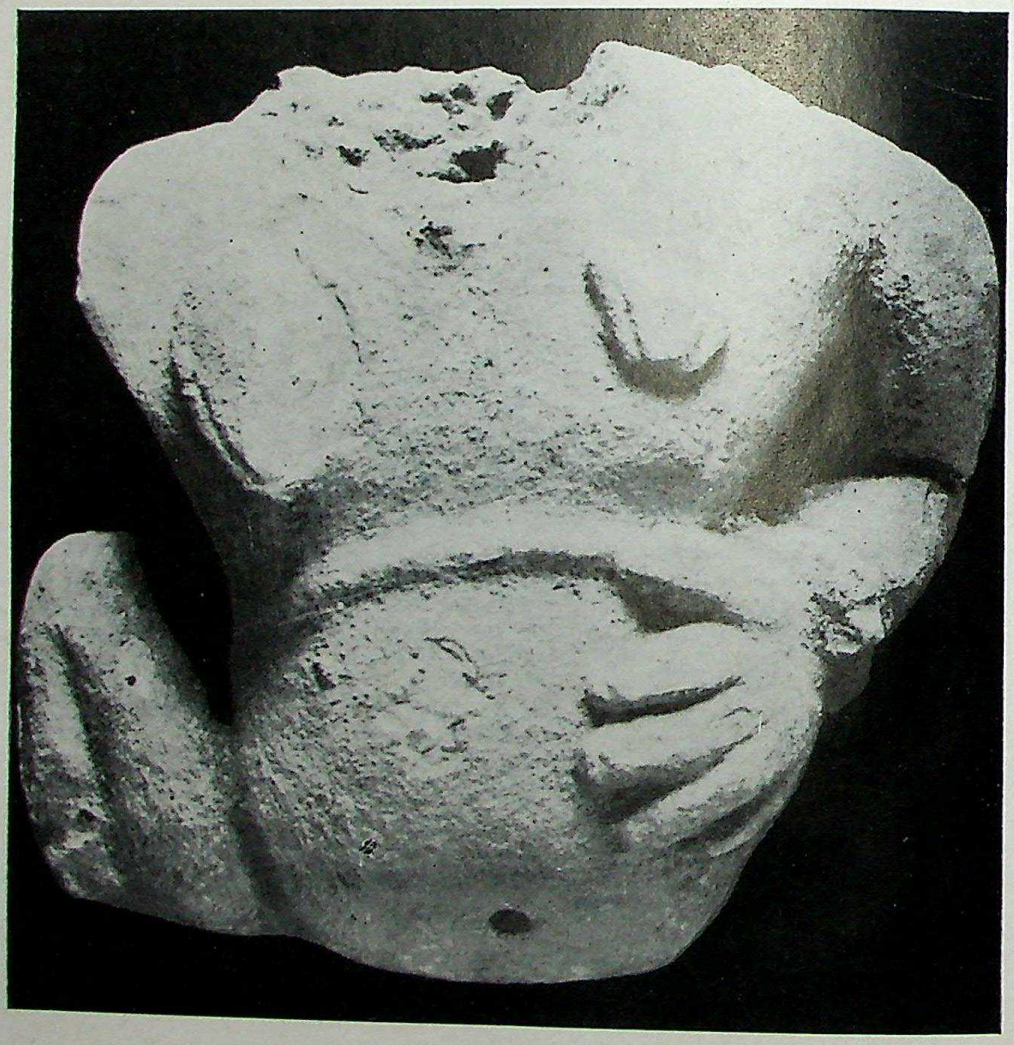
XI. Buddha and Padmapāṇi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XII. Buddha, Maitreya and Padmapāṇi.

XIII. Heruka, Ugratārā and Maitreya.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XIV. Jambhala.

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XV. Syāmatārā.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XVI. Syāmatārā.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XVII. Jñānaviśhuddha.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XVIII. Inscribed Buddha-pāda.

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